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THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MODERN GERMANY

The usual reports and descriptions concerning the economic condition of a country are never satisfactory to a person who wishes to take a long view of the situation in the light of comparative industrialism, and this holds good also of social institutions and cultural achievements. Accurate reports supported by charts and statistical documentation about the state of things in a particular period may of course to some extent make up for this deficiency. Yet the judgment and estimation of economic and cultural achievements can be irreproachable only when the various different hindrances and urging forces, both political and economic, geopolitical advantages and complications of the particular country, social and cultural peculiarities of the people as well as the multifarious external and internal conditions under which a nation lives or is compelled to live, are thoroughly investigated. Thus, for instance, a usual paper on the foreign trade of India during the last few years, as we generally find it in Europe, would hardly give anything more than a mere reproduction of the naked figures supplied by the customs offices in British India. The various driving forces which are shaping the structure and development of India's foreign trade, the influence of a nation like the English—fewer in number but superior in political experience

—on the economic actualities of a people numbering hundreds of millions, politically influenced by the governing minority but endowed with high aspirations and burning with sensitive selfconsciousness, the multifarious mutual influences between the ruling power and the economic condition of a nation which is quite heterogeneous in race, creed and character, will be ignored in the works on Indian foreign trade known in Europe, although these considerations are of the highest importance for the economic development of India.

In the same way, in a treatment of the present economic situation of Germany during the last few years it is necessary to take into consideration also the multifarious political, social and cultural conditions which have been thrust upon the German nation—a nation which is placed in the middle of Europe and represents a population of 60 millions. The partly agrarian and partly industrial adult population of pre-war Germany was happily balanced by a far-sighted commercial and foreign policy and the increasing purchasing capacity of the people, the gradual extension of her oversea trade relations and by the advance achieved in the field of technical sciences, closely connected with the economic development of the people. On the basis of these economic conditions it was possible to develop a high standard of culture and civilization which brought with it the economic welfare of the people and progress in the technical sciences, not only in Germany but in the whole world, and Germany herself rose in the esteem of other nations. But now the days are changed. The economic condition of Germany of the present day is solely and wholly determined by the effects of the Great War, or, more accurately, by the Versailles treaty which has been imposed on a nation which fought in self-defence for four years against a world of enemies and at last fell a prey to their superior force. In east, west and north, long strips of land, indispensable for Germany's economic prosperity, were torn away from her. Tributes in enormous amounts were imposed. The whole merchant marine

of Germany had to be handed over and the German colonies in Africa, Asia and Australia were lost to the fatherland. Innumerable German patents of immense value had to be given away to the creditor nations and all this came after every German investment in the enemy countries was liquidated during the war and all German capital laid out in foreign lands confiscated. The effect of all these drastic measures was gruesome: German currency gradually evaporated into the mist of inflation, and this after the French took possession of the most important region of the country for German industry—the Rhine-Ruhr region—several years after the peace, however strange it may sound. The whole political and social structure of Germany had to be built up again in the shape of a republican state which was the result of the revolution in Germany after the end of the war.

But it is impossible to understand the present-day Germany without taking into consideration the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the neighbouring lands as the result of the Great War. New independent states, such as Tschecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia were called into being. Russia fell into the spell of Bolshevism and was thus to a large extent isolated from the economic system of the world and at the same time deprived Germany of an important market for her industrial products. Austria-Hungary was dissolved into its component parts. The newly founded states mentioned above brought with them new tariff walls to some extent quite unsurmountable and thus raised still more difficulties in the path of that fraction of Germany's industrial possibilities which were still open to her.

If now in spite of all these revolutions, limitations and burdens imposed upon the German people, it has again succeded in coming up to the surface in cultural as well as economic conditions of life after a protracted period of reconstruction extending over twelve years, we should not forget that the unhappy Versailles treaty in combination with the economic

crisis, which is now hanging over the whole world, has led to such a situation that it must now be seriously asked if after all the superhuman exertion on the part of a people beholden to pay enormous amounts in the shape of tribute for two generations will not be in vain unless Germany again gets back her internal and external independence. It is absolutely impossible to avoid continuous disturbances of the peace and prosperity of the world, so long as a people of 60 millions placed in the heart of Europe continues to groan under economic and political oppression.[1]

J. HERLE

[1] The Editor thanks Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh, now resident at Munich, for English translations of these articles on Germany.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN FINANCE*

A sound financial system is the true basis of a sound system of administration. It is also universally recognised that proper attention to the principles of public finance conduces to the happiness and prosperity of a people. I have, therefore, chosen the Future of Indian Finance as the subject of my address at this Conference. This subject is one of special importance at the present moment in view of the momentous changes which are likely to take place in the Indian constitution in the immediate future.

The system of public finance was extremely ill-balanced—both on the expenditure and the revenue side—in the days of the East India Company. Military expenditure dominated the financial policy of the Company throughout the period of its rule. If we compare the military and marine charges of the country in the last normal year of the Company's rule with those in the year of acquisition of the *Diwani*, we find that the increase was more than eight-fold. These charges amounted to no less than forty per cent. of the total net revenue of the country in 1856-57. The expenses of the army were so large because they were incurred for the purpose not so much of defence as of aggression. As a matter of fact, all the wars of the Company, by which territories were acquired in India as

* Presidential Address delivered by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., at the Indian Economic Conference held at Lahore on the 2nd January, 1931.

well as in some of the neighbouring countries, were financed out of Indian revenues.

The expenses of civil administration also grew by leaps and bounds with the lapse of years. This was due, in the main, to the substitution of the European for the Indian element in the public services. During the first few years of the Company's rule, the work of administration was conducted chiefly by means of Indian agency. Gradually, however, Indian officers were replaced by Europeans. The policy of Europeanisation was carried out with the utmost vigour until, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, none but the lowest offices were held by Indians. The cost of giving effect to this policy was, however, enormous, and the employment of Indians was urged by experienced administrators on financial grounds. When Lord William Bentinck was faced with the problem of uniting "economy and despatch with efficiency and integrity," the solution was found in a somewhat larger employment of Indians. The Charter Act of 1833 provided that no Indian was, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, to be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. But, although a larger proportion of Indians was admitted to the subordinate services, the provision of the Act remained a dead letter so far as the higher offices were concerned.

Another large item of expenditure in these days consisted of the Home Charges. In the earlier years of the Company's rule, a considerable portion of India's wealth was every year transferred to England by way of investment. Such investments ceased in 1814 ; but, meanwhile, other expenses had come into existence. The Home Charges were comparatively small in the beginning, but with the progressive Europeanisation of all the public services in India, the gradual increase in the number of European troops sent to this country, and the frequent additions to the debt held in

England, these charges tended continually to grow. In the last year of the Company's rule, the Home Charges were over 6 millions sterling. The harmful consequences to India of this annual transfer of her resources did not fail to attract the attention of eminent British administrators. Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote: "£5,000,000 sterling a year is subtracted from the wealth of India and added to the wealth of England, which is the most serious injury which India suffers from its connexion with England." In view of this injury, some eminent Englishmen suggested that a portion of the burden of Home Charges should be borne by Britain. But nothing of the sort was done. Sir George Wingate observed in 1859 with a feeling of regret that Britain's fair share, represented by the degree in which British interests had decided Indian policy, had not been paid, and urged a more equitable adjustment in future of India's financial relations with England.

On the other hand, the expenditure incurred by the Company for important purposes like education and sanitation was exceedingly small. During the first half of its period of rule, the Company was too much preoccupied with other things to be able to devote any attention to the question of instruction of the people. In 1793, when the renewal of the Company's Charter was under consideration, Wilberforce proposed to add two clauses to the Bill to provide for the education of Indians. But the Court of Proprietors opposed such addition on the ground that, if education was imparted to the people, India would be lost. The clauses were, therefore, withdrawn. It was not till 1813 that Parliament directed that a small sum should be set apart, out of the revenues of India, for the promotion of learning. By gradual steps some provision, though very inadequate, was made for the higher education of a limited number of persons. But little was done to provide primary education to the bulk of the people. Towards the close of the Company's rule, the total educational expenditure of the Government fell considerably short of 1 per cent. of the net revenue of the country.

Sanitation and medical relief received very little attention at the hands of the Company, the total amount spent in 1857-58 being only 21 lakhs of rupees.

On the revenue side, we find that land revenue was the mainstay of Government finance. Towards the close of the Company's administration, nearly two-thirds of the State income in India was obtained from the land. The assessments were, in general, excessive, and the revenue demand pressed very heavily upon the people. Next to land revenue, the most important source of income of the Government during the greater part of the Company's rule was the salt tax. Levied as it was on one of the first necessaries of life, it was felt as a cruel and oppressive burden by the poor. Another source of State income was the opium monopoly which, originally adopted as a resource for persons in office, ultimately occupied the second place in the revenue system of the country. *Abkari*, or the excise on alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, was another tainted resource of the Company. Besides the main heads of revenue, various imposts of a comparatively unimportant character were levied in different parts of the country. These taxes were of a vexatious and oppressive nature, and many of them were ultimately abolished. Though this was a move in the right direction, it can hardly be denied that the tax-system of the East India Company was extremely partial in incidence. While the poor cultivator and the struggling artisan were burdened with heavy taxes, the rich foreign merchant and the well-to-do Indian money-lender contributed little to the resources of the State.

This lack of balance in the financial system continued under the direct administration of the Crown. Military expenditure increased largely during the Mutiny. Though attempts were subsequently made on several occasions to reduce this expenditure, the general tendency was in the upward direction, until in 1920-21, the last year of the old regime, the net military charges stood at Rs. 75·77 crores. This however, was an abnormal year, as there were hostilities with Afghanistan and

operations on the frontier. It should also be noted that a large part of the increased expenditure was the direct outcome of the European War of 1914-18, being attributable to various causes, such as a general rise in prices, the enhanced rates of pay granted to all ranks, improvements in the standard of comfort of the troops, additions to and improvements in equipment, and a large increase in non-effective charges.

During this period of a little over half a century, the police charges grew at a rapid pace, and in 1920-21 they amounted to nearly Rs. 12 crores. The increase would probably have been justified if, as the result of it, the police had become better equipped to render service to the community. But this was not the case, the reason being that the police force was maintained not so much for affording security to the people as for lending support to British rule in India. The expenses of general administration showed a gradual rise during this period, while the Home Charges rose to an enormous amount. The growth of State expenditure on education, on the other hand, was slow and wholly incommensurate with the needs of the situation. Year after year, decade after decade, Indian publicists urged that the question of popular education should be taken up in right earnest, but little heed was paid to their appeals. When, in 1911, G. K. Gokhale brought forward his Primary Education Bill, it was opposed by the Government on the ground of paucity of funds. In 1920-21, the total State expenditure in India on education was 7·21 crores. The subject of sanitation received very niggardly treatment, the total expenditure under this head in a country where the average death-rate was nearly 31 per thousand, and in some places as high as 60 per thousand, was only a little over a crore of rupees. The net expenses incurred for giving medical relief to 247 millions of persons amounted to only $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees.

Agriculture gives employment to nearly three-fourths of the entire population of the country, and its improvement ought to be one of the primary duties of the State in India, while co-opera-

tive credit is the chief means of rescuing the agriculturist from the clutches of the rapacious money-lender. But the total amount which the Government was able to spare for these two objects was considerably less than a crore and a half rupees. Although industrial development was one of the principal needs of the country, practically nothing was spent on the subject. The only item of social service expenditure was the provision of a crore and a half rupees for famine relief and insurance. No moneys were provided for affording relief to the poor or aged persons or for mitigating the distress of the unemployed. But what would strike an impartial observer as strange was that a Government, which was unable to meet its essential obligations, did not hesitate to take in hand a costly scheme like the building of New Delhi—a scheme which nobody in India had wanted and which was not intended to benefit any section of the community. This failure of the Government to grapple properly with the financial problem can be traced only to their lack of touch with the sentiments and desires of the people and a callous disregard of their vital interests.

Coming to the revenue aspect of the financial system we find that, for a long time, little advance was made towards an equitable system of taxation. The bulk of the burden of taxation fell upon the poorer classes, while the richer people contributed much less than their proper share to the expenses of public administration. The stress of the European War, however, made a great change in the situation. The development of taxes on income and the imposition of heavy import duties on luxuries helped in some measure to make the balance more even as between the different classes of the community.

Some feeble attempts have been made since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to remove a few of the more glaring defects of the financial system. The Reforms were accompanied by a separation of provincial from central finance. At the centre military expenditure has now been reduced to Rs. 55·1 crores a year. Full effect has not, however, been yet given to

the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23. But, on the other hand, the General Administration charges have grown enormously both at the centre and in the provinces, the total amounting in 1928-29 to 13·37 crores. A portion of this increase may be accounted for by the additional expense necessitated by the expansion of the legislatures and the appointment of ministers and their staffs. But a very large part of the increase has been due to enhancements in the salaries of the members of the higher services granted on the recommendation of the Lee Commission. The charges of collection which include a part of the expenses of civil administration have also considerably increased. Further, the effect of the decisions taken on the Lee Commission Report has been felt in an augmentation of the Home Charges. There has been a huge capital outlay on New Delhi. The deficits in the central budgets have added considerably to the unproductive debt of the country, while the blundering currency policy of the Government has caused enormous losses to the Indian Exchequer and led to a depletion of the reserves.

In the provinces the picture seems at first sight to be less gloomy. Taking into account the figures for the year 1928-29, the last year for which complete statistics are available, we find that the total provincial expenditure on Education has amounted to nearly Rs. 12 crores, while the Medical and Public Health charges have amounted to about Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores and Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores respectively. Slight increases have also occurred in the expenditure shown under the heads 'Agriculture' and 'Industries.' But these improvements have fallen far short of the requirements of the country. It should also be noted that progress in the nation-building departments has not been at a uniform pace in all the provinces, and that in some of the provinces there has been practically no progress at all. For instance, we find that the expenditure on education increased between the years 1920-21 and 1928-29 by the following amounts: Madras, Rs. 128 lakhs; Punjab, Rs. 87 lakhs; Burma, Rs. 79

lakhs; United Provinces, Rs. 78 lakhs; Bombay, Rs. 56 lakhs ; Bengal, Rs. 35 lakhs ; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 33 lakhs ; Central Provinces and Berar, Rs. 15 lakhs ; Assam, Rs. 11 lakhs. The total expenditure in the transferred departments charged to the revenue account in each of the Governors' Provinces in the same year was as follows: Madras, Rs. 6·51 crores ; Punjab, Rs. 5·74 crores ; Burma, Rs. 5·52 crores ; Bombay, Rs. 5·30 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 3·87 crores ; Bengal, Rs. 3·80 crores ; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 2·31 crores ; Assam, Rs. 85 lakhs ; Central Provinces, Rs. 40 lakhs.

These differences have been due to the fact that the distribution of resources which accompanied the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was unequal and inequitable. The great mistake committed by the authors of the financial settlement was that, in the matter of allocation of funds, they did not proceed upon any definite basis. They said that they had in view the actual expenditures of the different provinces. This was not a safe or just criterion ; but even this criterion was considered in a shape which was open to serious objection. Normal scales of expenditure were calculated with reference to an abnormal year, and the future expenditures needed to give effect to the most essential requirements of the different provinces were not estimated at all. But even this insufficient and unsafe criterion of expenditure was not adhered to; for had this been done, the disproportions in the allocated revenues of the different provinces would not have been so great as they actually turned out to be. Another mistake was that a uniform treatment was sought to be accorded to the provinces by allotting to all of them the same heads of revenue. But it was forgotten for the moment that the yield of each of these resources varied from province to province. Thus the attempt to secure artificial symmetry diverted the attention of the authorities from the real problem, namely, the need for securing substantial equality.

The expedient of levying provincial contributions tended

for the moment to hide in some degree the real disparities in the financial positions of the different provinces. But the inequalities in the distribution of resources appeared in their true complexion after the abolition of the contributions. In the budget estimates for 1929-30, the revenues of the different provinces were shown as follows : Madras, Rs. 18·07 crores ; Bombay, Rs. 14·41 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 13·07 crores ; Punjab, Rs. 12·54 crores; Bengal, Rs. 11·11 crores; Burma, Rs. 10·59 crores; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 6·19 crores ; Central Provinces, Rs. 5·55 crores; Assam, Rs. 2·79 crores. The disproportions appear even more striking when we consider the revenue per head of the population. It is no wonder, therefore, that the expenditure per head of the population was as follows : Burma, Rs. 8·6; Bombay, Rs. 8·3; Madras, Rs. 4·2; Punjab, Rs. 5·5; Assam, Rs. 3·9; Central Provinces, Rs. 3·8; United Provinces, Rs. 2·7; Bengal, Rs. 2·5; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 1·8. Comment is hardly needed to show how unjust and arbitrary is the present system of provincial finance in India.

But the unequal distribution of resources as between the provinces is not the only defect of the financial settlement with which the name of Lord Meston is associated. The failure to give adequate attention to the elasticities of the various sources of revenue has led to very unsatisfactory results. While the more elastic resources have been left in the hands of the Central Government, the comparatively unexpanding sources of income have been made over to the provinces. There is another objectionable feature in this system of allocation. The fact that central and provincial taxation affects different classes of the population tends not only to create a separation between the interests of the Government of India and the provinces, but also to hinder the industrial progress of the country. These defects can be traced in part to a failure to appreciate the respective needs of the Central Government and the Provincial governments and in part to an insistence

on the principle of a financial clean-cut. In regard to the former, it seems strange that it did not strike the authors of the settlement that the classification of administrative subjects made under the Devolution Rules was such that the needs of the Central Government might be expected to decrease, while ever-increasing resources would be required for maintaining and developing the provincial subjects. As for the principle of a financial clean-cut, whatever might be its theoretical merit, the assumption of its absolute necessity in a scheme of federal finance was not founded on the experience of other countries. Possibly, there was a confusion in the minds of the framers of the scheme in regard to two distinct ideas, namely, separation of resources and separation of heads of revenue. While the former is essential in a scheme of provincial autonomy, the latter is not.

Time has now come when the anomalies and inconsistencies of the existing system should disappear and the finances of the entire country placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. The most essential need of the moment is the provision of adequate funds for the nation-building services. For this purpose, a readjustment of financial relations will be necessary, and such readjustment will involve a re-allocation of the financial resources of the country between the Central and Provincial Governments. A proper solution of the first problem will require a careful consideration of the relative needs of the Government of India and of the Provincial Administrations. The most important functions to be entrusted to the Central Government under the coming reforms will probably be: Defence, legislation of an all-India character, maintenance of the main arteries of communication, management of coinage, currency and public debt, and co-ordination of many of the activities under the control of the Provincial Governments. These functions are not likely to entail ever-increasing expenditure. On the contrary, considerable retrenchment is possible in some of the departments. The needs of the provinces, however, are almost unlimited.

The introduction of compulsory primary education ought not to be delayed any longer. Some parts of the country are notoriously unhealthy, and preventive as well as remedial measures are urgently needed to protect the people from the ravages of various kinds of disease. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people of the country; but the methods of cultivation are antiquated, and as a consequence population is pressing heavily upon the soil. The development of manufacturing industries is one of the crying needs of the country. All these subjects require the assistance of the Government. It is also time that the Government took in hand questions of social reform like old age pensions, relief of poverty, and unemployment insurance.

Thus it is clear that, if the Provincial Governments are to fulfil their obligations properly, they will have to be placed in command of resources which will not only be substantial in the beginning but expansive in future. Sir Walter Layton estimates that the provinces will require an augmentation of their resources by 40 to 50 crores in the course of the next ten years. This estimate does not err on the side of extravagance. Funds may be available in two ways; first, by re-allocating existing resources, and secondly, by imposing fresh taxes. For the purpose of a re-allocation we must consider whether retrenchment is possible and desirable in any of the departments under the control of the Central Government. In this connexion military expenditure claims our attention first. The net charges under the head 'Defence' absorb nearly two-thirds of the net revenue of the Central Government and about one-third of the total revenue of the country. This is too heavy a burden for the country to be able to bear. It should be borne in mind that there is hardly any country in the world which spends so large a proportion of its income on its army as India does. There is also another fact which is worth noting. Defence expenditure has increased in a higher proportion in India than in other parts of the British Empire.

As Mr. Jacobson points out, the defence expenditure of India has increased since 1913, the pre-war year, by 100 per cent., while that of Great Britain has increased by 48·9 per cent.; and that of the Dominions by 33 per cent. The Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 suggested the reduction of the military budget to a figure not exceeding Rs. 50 crores. Even this sum was regarded by the Committee as more than what the tax-payer in India should be called upon to pay, and they thought that it would be desirable to keep "a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction."

In most countries, the strength of the army is determined by the consideration of its adequacy for the purpose of defence. But in India the situation is different. The Army in India is not a national army. Its very name implies that it is, to a large extent at least, an army of occupation. This fact has been admitted by many British statesmen and administrators in the past. It is also proved by the ratio in which the British portion of the army is maintained relatively to the Indian. On the eve of the Sepoy Mutiny the proportionate strength of the British force was small; but it was increased after the Mutiny, the object being to prevent any further attempt on the part of the people to overthrow British rule. India has so far been compelled to bear the cost of being held in subjection, but now that the country is on the road to freedom, the much-needed relief should no longer be withheld. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to urge that the strength of the British force be reduced by one-half. In case, however, it be thought undesirable to bring about the change too suddenly, an arrangement might be made under which there would be an immediate reduction of 10,000 British officers and soldiers and further reductions would take place at the rate of 2,000 men a year during the next ten years. It may be argued that such reduction in the strength of the British force will imperil the safety of the country, but past experience shows that there is no ground for such apprehension. At the commencement of the European War, of the British

establishment in India, 7 regiments of British cavalry out of 9, 44 British battalions of infantry out of 52, and 43 batteries of Royal Artillery out of 56 were sent overseas. In return for these troops, India received many months after the despatch some Territorials who were unfit for immediate employment. For the space of some weeks, before the arrival of the Territorials, the British garrison in India consisted only of about 15,000 men. If such reduction was possible in the war crisis, there is no reason why a smaller reduction cannot be regarded as possible at a time when the prospects of world peace are bright.

Another reason why the British force in India has been kept in its present strength is that a large portion of it is required, to use the words of the Government of India, "to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East." Expenditure of this sort is evidently a British interest, and many eminent British statesmen have urged in the past that the cost of the Imperial reserve should be defrayed out of the British Exchequer. A Minority of the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure considered it fair that the revenues of India should be relieved of the entire charges of 20,000 British soldiers and that "they should be treated as part of the reserve forces of the Eastern portion of the British Empire generally, and borne in future upon the Army Estimates in that capacity." Twenty years later, it was observed in *India's Contribution to the Great War*, a book published by authority of the Government of India: "It is because India has for many years past maintained a large army, that she was able, at a critical moment, to despatch a large and fully equipped force to the Western front to help in stemming the tide of invasion of the territory of our allies. The army in India proved itself once more to be a great Imperial asset." Equity demands that the suggestion of the Minority of the Welby Commission be now carried into effect, and a suitable contribution made by Britain to India on this account. Some further savings may be obtained as a consequence of the Indianisation of the officers' ranks in the Indian portion of

the army. The administrative charges in the military department have increased enormously in recent years, and if a policy of economy is now observed, a considerable sum of money may be saved every year on this account. If the suggestions made here are accepted, a substantial retrenchment will result in military expenditure. Military finance is very largely a question of policy, and if the best interests of the people are kept in view, it will not be impossible to adjust it in such a way as to secure an immediate saving of 10 crores of rupees and further savings amounting in the aggregate to another 10 crores in the course of the next ten years.

Some retrenchment may also be possible under each of the four heads, namely, Direct Demands on the Revenues, Civil Administration, Civil Works, and Miscellaneous. The charges of collection are at present very high, and may easily be reduced to an appreciable extent. The Civil Administration charges are so enormous because the salaries of members of the higher services have been fixed on an extravagant scale. As a considerable fall in prices has now occurred, the salary scales should be revised. If it be found impossible to reduce the salaries of European officers owing to political reasons, there is no reason why a reduction should not be effected in the salaries of Indian public servants. If a lower standard of emoluments is fixed for Indians, the number of posts held by Europeans will steadily diminish, and as Indianisation will proceed at an accelerated speed, greater and still greater economies will arise. Retrenchment under this head will also help automatically to reduce the pension and superannuation charges shown under the head 'Miscellaneous.' A great deal of waste now takes place in the Civil Works Department of the Government, and a strict method of control is sure to result in considerable savings. On the other hand, it is not improbable that the Central Government will under the new constitution assume extended functions. In such circumstances, larger funds will be needed by the

Government of India. If a saving of two crores of rupees is obtained by means of retrenchment on the civil side of the budget in the course of the next ten years, one-half of the amount may be set apart for meeting the additional cost involved in the performance of the new duties, the other half being made available to the provinces.

A substantial reduction may be expected in the expenditure under the head 'Debt Services.' The policy of debt redemption which is now being steadily pursued by the Government of India will tend gradually to reduce the interest charges in future. But a substantial reduction may ensue immediately if Britain agrees to take over that portion of the debt which was incurred for Imperial purposes. The Afghan and Burmese Wars, for instance, were waged not in the interests of India but in those of the Empire. The charges were, however, thrown upon India, imposing upon her a public debt which she would not otherwise have incurred. If this wrong be righted now, the relief will be keenly appreciated.

In addition to the sums obtained from retrenchment, a considerable surplus is likely to accrue to the central budget from the normal expansion of its revenues. A portion of this sum may be retained by the Government of India for its own purposes, and the remainder made available for provincial objects. If the proposals made in the course of this address are accepted, the Central Government will be in a position to give up to the provinces resources to the extent of 10 to 12 crores of rupees immediately, and this amount will rise to no less than 20 to 25 crores of rupees in the course of the next decade. The transfer should be made not by means of grants, but by a re-allocation of existing revenues. The suggestions made by Sir Walter Layton in this connexion deserve to be carefully considered. His first proposal is that the provinces should make over commercial stamps to the Government of India, and that the latter should reduce the import duty on foreign liquor to the standard luxury rate of 30 per cent., allowing the

Provincial Governments to impose excise duties on such liquor to the extent of the amount of duty reduced. This proposal is a retrograde one. Commercial stamps are a fairly expanding source of revenue, as the yield tends to grow with the extension of trade and commerce. On the other hand, the consumption of liquor is likely to diminish in future, and naturally the yield from this source will tend steadily to decrease. The reason assigned for the suggestion is that conflicts of interest between the Central and Provincial Governments should be avoided. But this object can be attained by the provinces making over to the Government of India the excise duty now levied on locally-manufactured foreign liquor in exchange for the transfer to the Provincial Governments of some source of central revenue of the same amount. An argument in favour of Sir Walter Layton's proposal is that the revenue should as far as possible be assigned to the authority which controls the rates of duty. There is a great deal of force in this argument. But the objection can be met by adopting an arrangement under which legislation relating to commercial stamps should remain central, subject to the provision that no alterations in the rates should take place unless decided at a conference of the financial representatives of the different provinces. The proposal of Sir Walter Layton, if accepted, will weaken the financial positions of the provinces. The exchange of duties on commercial stamps for a portion of the tax on alcoholic liquors should not, therefore, be insisted upon.

Sir Walter Layton's second proposal is that one-half of the proceeds of the income-tax on personal incomes should be made over to the provinces. Evidently, he does not attach any value to the objections which have so far been urged against income-tax being made a provincial source of revenue. Nor does he regard a system of divided heads as an evil to be shunned at all costs. But looked at from the point of view of the financial needs of the provinces, Sir Walter's proposal does not go far enough, for the share of taxes on income which he proposes to make over

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to the provinces is considerably smaller than the share he wishes to retain in the hands of the Central Government. He admits that, theoretically, there is no reason why the provinces should not also be given a portion of the super-tax; but he does not include it in his scheme because he is afraid that the Government of India cannot at present make the financial sacrifice which it would involve. There would, however, be no ground for such apprehension if the retrenchment suggested in this address is carried out in the Government of India's expenditure. That a cruel injustice has been done to the provinces in depriving them of their legitimate resources will be clear from a glance at the income-tax returns. The total revenues obtained by the Central Government from the different provinces in the shape of taxes on income during the eight years 1921-22 to 1928-29 were: Bengal, Rs. 43·14 crores; Bombay, Rs. 37·58 crores; Burma, Rs. 13·75 crores; Madras, Rs. 11 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 6·89 crores; Punjab, Rs. 5·10 crores; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 3·95 crores; Central Provinces and Berar, Rs. 3·46 crores; Assam, Rs. 1·13 crores. The total amounts received by the different Provinces during the same period under Devolution Rule 15 were: Bengal, Rs. 95 thousands; Bombay, Rs. 17·32 lakhs; Burma, Rs. 37·50 lakhs; Madras, Rs. 36·70 lakhs; United Provinces, Rs. 3·56 lakhs; Punjab, Rs. 27·82 lakhs; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 22·13 lakhs; Central Provinces, Rs. 16·59 lakhs; Assam, Rs. 33·33 lakhs. Thus out of the total sum of nearly Rs. 140 crores collected by means of the income- and super-taxes the Provincial Governments were benefited to the extent only of Rs. 5⅓ crores, while the whole of the remainder went to the Central Government.

The wrong thus inflicted will have to be righted now, and in order to do so, a large proportion of the total proceeds of the taxes on income should be made over to the provinces. It may be mentioned in this connexion that in every federation taxes on income form an important source of revenue for the component States. If the provincial share is fixed

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at one-half of the proceeds of the ordinary income-tax on personal incomes, as is suggested by Sir Walter Layton, the provinces will receive only about 4 crores of rupees a year. This will not meet the demands of the situation. Therefore, one-half of the total proceeds of both the income-tax and the super-tax should be surrendered to the provinces, the distribution being made on the principle of origin. This may give rise to some practical difficulties, but there is no reason to assume that such difficulties will be insuperable. In case, however, it should be decided to adopt the principle of domicile, one-half of the proceeds of the super-tax derived from personal incomes, as well as those derived from the income-tax, should be made over to the provinces. There is another matter which should be taken into consideration. Allocation on the basis of domicile has certain undoubted advantages, but it is not wholly satisfactory from the point of view of equity. Origin offers a more equitable basis, and however great the practical difficulties may be, this principle should not be ignored altogether. The Taxation Enquiry Committee suggest that partial recognition be accorded to the principle of origin by giving a small share of the corporation profits tax to the provinces. This recommendation is of a very halting character, and in order to do justice to the provinces, the whole of the proceeds of this tax should be surrendered to them. This will benefit all the provinces, particularly a poor province like Bihar and Orissa. In calculating the shares of the different provinces in the proceeds of this tax, regard must be had not merely to the location of the headquarters of business enterprises but also to the site of actual operations. It may not be possible to attain absolute accuracy in the matter of distribution, but it will not be difficult to form estimates which will be approximately correct.

Sir Walter Layton's third proposal is that the proceeds of the salt duty should be transferred to the provinces by gradual steps. I do not know whether a feeling of generosity or a sense

of expediency has prompted this proposal. But what is to be apprehended is that it would be difficult to retain the salt-tax at all. And even if this be possible, it is certain that the rate of duty will have to be reduced, and probably the manufacture of salt in the coastal tracts for individual consumption will have to be exempted from taxation. Thus the maximum revenue which may be expected from this source is not likely to exceed one-half of its present yield.

The transfer of the revenues mentioned above to the provinces will not give them resources which can be regarded as sufficient to enable them to start on their new career in a spirit of security and optimism. Sir Walter Layton, therefore, suggests the imposition of fresh taxation. This, however, will be a dangerous step, for nothing is so likely to jeopardise the chances of success of the new constitution as the levy of additional taxes at the very outset. It is true that fresh resources will have ultimately to be found if the Provincial Governments are to fulfil their obligations properly. But the new ministers in the provinces must be given time to win the confidence of their legislatures and constituencies before they are compelled to place further financial burdens on the people. The legislatures and the constituencies must also be made to feel that the existing resources are being applied in a proper and well-balanced manner. When the ministers will be in a position to convince the people that all avoidable expenditure has been retrenched and to assure them that the proceeds of new taxes will be spent for their benefit, their reluctance to bear further burdens will be overcome. A period of at least five years must elapse before the atmosphere will be favourable for the levy of fresh taxation. Meantime, the Provincial Governments will have to be supplied with adequate resources, which can only be obtained from retrenchments in the central budget.

It will thus be necessary for the Government of India to part with some more resources than have been suggested by Sir Walter Layton. In this connexion, export duties deserve our

consideration first. These duties stand on a footing somewhat different from import duties, for, in this case, the question of inter-provincial barriers does not arise and it is not altogether impossible to trace the origin. Export duties are now levied on only three articles, but it is not impossible that they will be levied in future on a few others. The proceeds of the duty on jute are obtained almost entirely from Bengal, and this province has always demanded that the net collection at the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong be made over to it. Two objections are generally urged against such a proposal. The first is that the burden of the duty does not fall on the people of the province. But, as the Taxation Enquiry Committee point out, "there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer." Even if it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the whole of the duty falls on the foreign consumer, the claim of the people of the province to the productivity of a valuable article cannot be lightly brushed aside. The second objection relates to administrative convenience. This can be met by providing that the tax should continue to be administered by the Government of India, but that one-half of the proceeds may be made over to the province. As a financial clean-cut will be found impossible to maintain in the coming re-adjustments, there ought to be no objection to a division of the proceeds. But should any objection be raised to such division, an arrangement might be made under which the export duty would be reduced to one-half of its present amount, the Provincial Government being allowed to levy an excise duty of such an amount as would yield about half the proceeds of the existing tax. A possible objection to such an arrangement might be that it would be undesirable for the Imperial Government as well as the Provincial Government to be both interested in an export duty, since such interest might render it "doubly difficult for the trade concerned to secure amelioration when it is due." This objection does not seem to be a very serious one, for there is no reason to think that the

Provincial Government will be less watchful of the effects of the tax than the Central Government. On the contrary, the circumstance that the Central Government is interested only in the proceeds of the tax and not in the welfare of jute-growers exposes it to the temptation of levying, in times of financial difficulty, unduly high rates of duty which may threaten the very existence of the industry. If the province be given an interest in the jute tax, the risk would be minimised, for the Provincial Government would be sure to raise its voice of protest against the action of the Central Government in the interest of its own revenues, if for no other consideration.

It is worthy of note in this connexion that the jute tax has an intimate relation to agriculture as well as to industry, and as provincial subjects both of them engage the attention of the Government of Bengal, not of the Government of India. A recent incident has helped to make the position more clear. (In view of the acute distress of the jute-growers, the Acting Finance Member of the Government of India was, a short while ago, approached with an appeal for financial assistance, but he gave the reply that it was not the concern of the Central Government. So it comes to this that, while the benefit of the growth of jute goes to the Government of India, the duty of assisting the development of the article and of giving relief to the people concerned in it in times of difficulty devolves on the Government of Bengal.) This is surely an unnatural position. It should also be remembered that the production of jute affects the sanitation of the province, and the expenditure needed to overcome its evil effects has to be met out of provincial funds. Equity demands, therefore, that a substantial portion of the proceeds of this tax should belong to the province.)

The proceeds of the export duty on rice are ~~derived~~ mainly from Burma and in smaller amounts from Madras, Bengal and Bombay. As in the case of jute, its origin can be traced with a considerable degree of accuracy. The proceeds of this duty should be divided equally between the centre and the provinces.

The revenue derived from the duty on hides and skins is not large. If duties on oilseeds are levied in future, which seems not unlikely, one-half of the proceeds should be distributed to the provinces of origin. The total net receipts from export duties may be expected to amount to about 5 crores. If one-half of this sum be transferred to the provinces, they will gain about 2½ crores. The administration of export duties will, of course, continue in the hands of the Central Government. The proceeds of import duties will belong entirely to the Central Government at the commencement of the new system. But, as Sir Walter Layton suggests, when a further surplus accrues to the central budget, a definite and increasing proportion of customs revenue should be available to the provinces.

While the resources thus transferred from the centre will help to give the provinces a good start on their new career, these will not be sufficient for purposes of adequate development. Fresh resources will before long be needed to supplement the proceeds of original sources of revenue. Although the responsibility for the levy of new taxation will rest with the popular ministers, a discussion of the legitimate forms of such taxation will perhaps be found useful. Direct taxes are, from the point of view of pure theory, more equitable than indirect taxes. But in the existing circumstances of the country it will be an exceedingly difficult task to raise a substantial revenue by means of direct taxation alone. Therefore, a judicious combination of direct and indirect taxes will have to be made in any scheme of further taxation.

The most eligible of all fresh taxes will be the extension of the income-tax to agricultural incomes. The existing exemption of agricultural incomes has a history behind it. When an income-tax was levied for the first time in India in the year 1860, agricultural incomes were included. Agricultural incomes again formed part of the incomes assessed to the taxes levied during the years 1869 to 1873. During the years 1877-79, it was found necessary to impose additional

taxation in order to provide funds for the prevention and relief of famine. Two different categories of taxation were levied on this occasion, namely, cesses on land and licence taxes on trades and professions. When, in 1886, the Government of India was faced with a difficult financial situation, the licence taxes were transformed into an income-tax. Thus, as this income-tax was based on the licence-taxes which did not fall on the landed classes, these classes were exempted from the operation of the Income-tax Act of 1886. Agricultural incomes had already been subjected to additional cesses, and the real object which the framers of the Act had in view in exempting such incomes was to make the burden equal on the different classes of the population. These cesses, subsequently, were either removed or made over to local bodies. On grounds of equity, therefore, the exemption cannot any longer be defended. Besides, those persons who derive substantial incomes from the land are mere intermediaries, and they are able to bear the burden of this tax. The yield of this tax is estimated at 5 crores. The whole of the revenue should belong to the provinces.

Death duties are an eminently desirable form of taxation. They have become an important feature of the tax-systems of most of the advanced countries of the world. Although there are practical difficulties in India in the way of imposition of these taxes, such difficulties need not be regarded as insuperable. If necessary, the administration of these duties may be made central, but the proceeds should be made over to the provinces according to origin. The yield of these duties is likely to vary from year to year, and it is not possible to estimate such yield with any degree of accuracy. But there is no doubt that, even if the tax is levied at moderate rates, its proceeds will be substantial. An average amount of Rs. 5 crores a year may be assumed as a hypothetical figure of the yield of death duties.

An excise duty on matches would be a productive source of revenue. But Sir Walter Layton's suggestion that the rate

of the excise duty should be the same as the rate of the present import duty cannot be supported. (A high rate of duty may imperil the very existence of the match factories. A cautious policy would, therefore, have to be adopted in the matter.) If the excise duty is fixed at half the rate of the import duty, an annual sum of about a crore and a half rupees may be obtained. There are practical difficulties in the way of taxing tobacco manufactured in a crude form, and serious objections may be also urged in regard to the nature and incidence of such a tax. Tobacco has by long habit become one of the conventional necessaries for the masses of the people, and any tax on the article is sure to be felt by them as an unjustifiable burden. But an excise on cigars, cigarettes and pipe-tobacoo manufactured in factories is both practicable and desirable. The rate of duty, however, must not be too high. A revenue of 2 crores rising to 3 crores in the course of the next ten years may be expected from this source.

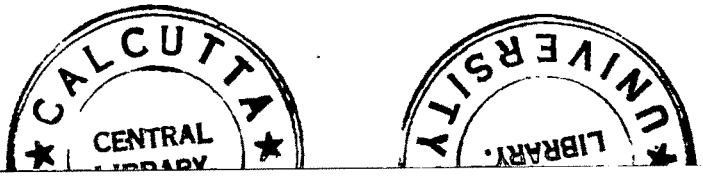
Sir Walter Layton's proposal to levy a terminal tax for provincial purposes at every railway station may be supported in the special circumstances of India at the present moment, where the field of direct taxation is far more restricted than in other countries. The chief merits of such a tax are that it is productive and easily collected. But a terminal tax has so far been regarded as a resource for local bodies, and it would be a real hardship on these bodies if the Provincial Governments were now allowed to encroach upon any of their limited sources of revenue. The way out of the difficulty may, however, be found in a division of the proceeds of terminal taxes between the Provincial Government and the local bodies within whose jurisdiction they arise. If the proceeds of the taxes are divided in equal proportions between the Provincial Government and the local bodies, the provincial portion of the yield may be estimated at 5 crores of rupees.

Sir Walter Layton suggests that the proceeds of the salt duty and of the excises on matches and tobacco should be paid into a separate fund, to be called the Provincial Fund. The

idea is a good one, but care should be taken to guard against certain difficulties which are likely to arise. The interests of the different provinces are not always identical, and the decisions of the majority may, in some cases, prove detrimental to the interests of the minority. Sir Walter has devoted much thought to the question of distribution of this fund and has come to the conclusion that population is the only fair basis. A combination of three tests, namely, needs, origin, and population would perhaps have furnished the most equitable basis. But as needs are exceedingly difficult to estimate, and as origin is not easy to find out without enquiries of a very complex and searching character, population may be taken as constituting, on the whole, the best available basis.

There is one weak point in the scheme of Sir Walter Layton, to which reference is made in the Despatch of the Government of India. It is that the application of the scheme to individual provinces has not been worked out in detail. This criticism is fully justified. In fact, if the details of Sir Walter's Scheme were worked out in their application to the provinces, it would appear that, although there would be substantial improvements in the financial positions of all the provinces, considerable inequalities would still be found to exist as between one province and another. If, on the other hand, the scheme outlined here be accepted, the different provinces would be placed on a footing of substantial equality. Justice should be the main object to be kept in view in any future re-adjustment of finances. Equality, not uniformity, should be our motto. If uniformity can be attained, so much the better; but in no circumstances should the principle of equity be sacrificed to meet the requirements of uniformity.

The scheme outlined above should be given effect to without any avoidable delay. Sir Walter rightly insists that the allocation of income-tax should be begun as early as possible. He further suggests that, in order to give the provinces a definite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idea of their prospective receipts, a time-table should be drawn up under which each head of revenue should be transferred according to a definite schedule. This suggestion is a very reasonable one ; but the Government of India, while agreeing in theory with Sir Walter Layton that the allocation should not be capricious, consider it essential to insist that the times and amounts of transfer must depend on the judgment of the Central Government. It is, of course, necessary that the Government of India should consider their own financial position before agreeing to a policy of transfer of revenues. But when once this is done, the actual transfer must be made according to a definite programme, any departure from which would be justified only in exceptional circumstances.

It is clear that an augmentation of the resources of the provinces is very urgently called for, and for this purpose a re-adjustment of the finances of the country is an imperative necessity. It was suggested in my work *Provincial Finance in India* that, in case it was found impossible to give effect to a policy of re-allocation without securing some improvement in the resources of the Central Government, a small measure of additional taxation might be resorted to. Emphasis was, however, laid on the necessity of selecting the new sources of revenue with anxious care so that they might not be felt as a hardship by the people, and it was pointed out that three taxes answered that test, namely, an increase in the duty on imported cotton goods, an addition to the duty on petroleum, and a tax on the private imports of silver. The Finance Member included these additional resources, together with some others, in his budget for the current year for the purpose of meeting a deficit. He gave the assurance at the time of the presentation of the budget that the new taxes would be utilised to create a margin which would enable the Government of India "to give a fair measure of assistance to the Provincial Governments in the next chapter of their history." It will not be long before the Government of India will be called upon to redeem this promise. Normal conditions will

return as soon as the constitutional problem is settled to the satisfaction of the people, and there should thereafter be no delay in placing the financial system on a sound footing.

In order that the finances of the country may be properly administered in future, it will be absolutely essential to provide that taxes should be levied only on the authority of the representatives of the people and expenditure incurred with their sanction. For this purpose, the existing restrictions on the powers of the legislatures—both central and provincial—must be removed and the special powers vested in the executive done away with. Borrowing has so far been a matter of executive action, but under the new constitution it should be brought under the control of the legislature. The administration of the Finance Department at the centre should be entrusted to a popular minister who would be responsible to the central legislature, while the ministers in the provinces should administer their own finance departments subject to the control of their respective legislative councils. A Finance Committee should be constituted in every province, and the composition of the Public Accounts Committees should be so altered that only elected members of the legislatures may in future be eligible to seats on them. The powers of the Secretary of State should be made similar to those of the Secretary of State for the Dominions; and such matters as the floating of loans and the investment of balances—which are in reality agency matters—should be transferred to the High Commissioner. While the co-operation and friendly advice of the Secretary of State would be welcome, his control of India's financial policy must be definitely ended. The Council of India—which is fast becoming an anachronism—should be abolished. The finances of the country should be vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Crown and the British Parliament should not exercise any powers in regard to Indian financial questions beyond what are exercised in respect of such matters in the other Dominions.

In conclusion, I desire once again to emphasise that the

great problem of the hour is how to impart a balance and a harmony to the financial system of India which have so far been lacking. Far too much attention has been directed in the past to the protective side of administration and far too little to its ameliorative aspect. Defence and preservation of internal order have been regarded almost as the sole functions of the Government in India to the neglect of services on which the health, happiness and progress of the people depend. The most essential need of the present moment, therefore, is the development of the nation-building services. These services being under the control of the Provincial Governments, it is necessary to set them firmly on their feet by placing adequate resources at their disposal. But where are the funds for this purpose to come from ? The answer is—in the first instance, by retrenchment and re-allocation of resources, and, secondly, by fresh taxation. To seek to impose additional taxes just now will not only intensify the existing discontent but also minimise the chances of success of the new constitution. The reason is obvious. India has up till now been governed by an alien bureaucracy and the people have never felt that the taxes raised from them have been spent for their benefit. Therefore, before any proposals for fresh taxation are put forward, there must not only be a proper re-adjustment of the financial relations between Britain and India and between the Central and Provincial Governments of the country, but also a complete change in the system of financial administration. Even after these steps have been taken some time must elapse before the people become cognisant of the altered situation. Meanwhile, retrenchment must be effected in the central budget, the funds thus released being placed at the disposal of the provinces. This re-allocation must be such as to make it possible for the Provincial Governments to achieve substantial progress in the development of subjects like education, public health, medical relief, agriculture and industry. When the people come to realise that the new system of government is national in spirit as well as in personnel, and

that the finances of the country are administered in the interests of the people, then will it be possible to impose fresh taxation. Once the people are convinced that state expenditure tends to conduce to their own well-being, they will cease to regard taxation as an evil, and will be ready to contribute to the resources of the Government. There will thenceforth be no lack of funds for the beneficent activities of the State, and the future historian will be able to say of the Finance Minister of New India, as Kalidas said of King Dilipa of old,

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो वलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥

"It was only for the good of the people that he collected taxes from them, just as the sun draws moisture from the earth only to give it back a thousand-fold."

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM

We thus see that both movements, the Indian and the Egyptian, reach approximately the same results. And not only is the result the same,—that Islam, if by going back to its original form or rather to its inner heart and spirit, it is purified from the dross of elements necessitated only by the requirements of contemporary history, and cleansed from the later theological rubbish, is the religion most reasonable and most in keeping with the needs of modern civilisation. Nay, the very ways by which the necessary theological reforms may be attained seem in both cases to be at bottom identical,—a token, perhaps, that proceeding from the available data they are the ways that are imperative.

The reform movement was not confined to India and Egypt. Indeed, the international nature of the Islamic world is still far too strong for it to be possible for such agitations to remain locally isolated. Above all, ideas of such outstanding personalities as Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammed 'Abduh were bound to find an echo far beyond the bounds of their immediate field of activity. Surprisingly late, but all the more decisively, does the urge for religious reforms arise with the people which for centuries had in many respects played a leading part in the Islamic world,—the Turks. There may of course be various reasons why particularly with the Turks, who certainly led the van in the rush of political and cultural reform, traces of any spontaneous interest in the reform of Islam as a religion appear so late. Certainly the Turks have never been given to much speculation and had no great interest in the development of Islam because that was already finished when they received it. So, however much they took pains to adopt the improvements of western civilisation, they nevertheless left this department alone. Indeed the farther they were outside its influence, the less did any contact whatsoever seem possible

between Islam and the modern trend of the ideas of the young Turks. The development of the modern Turkish kingdom lay more or less in the direction which in the East is called Occidentalism, an absolutely unorganised and in fact characterless Europeanisation, which resulted in a surrender of all religious and national individuality. But still more significant is it that in the fateful time of the terror of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd the most narrow-minded orthodox prevailed in Constantinople. The influence of Jemāl ad-Dīn had certainly been felt there also, but it was soon crippled by the distrust of the ruler, and his ideas were stamped by the narrow-minded 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as practically political. At this period there was absolutely no possibility of a real understanding being arrived at between Islam and western progress. Thus it is only after the revolution of 1908 that we really see the religious problem receiving attention, but now it is taken up at the high pressure characteristic of the spiritual movement so long forcibly suppressed by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in Turkey. We are fortunate in possessing an excellent description of the development of modernism in Turkey by a Turk thoroughly western in education, but with warm religious feelings, Aḥmed Muḥyiad-Dīn, who unhappily did not live long. How quickly it spread, once the ban upon it was removed, is shown by the fact that Muḥyi ad-Dīn, can write in 1921. "We may to-day consider as overthrown the orthodox tendency which aims to maintain at any cost Islam in the present form which it has historically attained." On the other hand, two sharply distinct tendencies were at this time (1921) fighting for the ascendency, the nationalist, whose greatest representative was the poet and thinker Ziya Gök Alp and a second which Muḥyi ad-Dīn calls the "Reformation." The preacher-poet Maḥmed 'Akif appears as the most original personality of the latter, and the Egyptian prince and Osmanic Grand-vizier Sa 'Id Halīm mapped out its actual programme. We might briefly distinguish the two tendencies as the politically cultural and the religious modernist. It is now interesting

to note that in their attitude to the religious problem both coincide to a great extent. "Both" says Muḥyi ad-Dīn, "place the ethical motive first ; both reject the historical Islam and demand a return to the original Islam," so "both deny the validity of the Sharīá (Islamic law) for the present time," "both demand the freedom of Ijtihād." We, see, then that both groups embrace a Modernism which is really broad. And we easily recognise that this common programme coinsides in essentials with that of the Egyptian reform party. In fact, we can even plainly see the personal connection of this with the Turkish "Reformation" which in substance is practically identical with the Manār tendency. Both Turkish groups have also the same expression for their programme of religious reform, the word "Islamlashmak,"—Islamisation. The meaning which this word has for both will be most easily made clear to us from the innate difference of their character.

The idea really originates in the orthodox opposition to the Occidentalism which denies Islam. When the inner weakness of the Occidentalism, which was neither national nor religious, was made patent even to the extremely modern-thinking Turks, it was taken up in their programme by the Nationalists in a quite different sense, of course ;—a programme which expressed itself in the triad,—Turkistan Islamisation, Modernisation. For the Nationalists it means the working out of an Islam freed not merely from all the later theological matter, but also from the motives originally bound up with it or necessitated by conditions of time and place. But, as indeed the threefold programme shows. Islamisation only represents one of the requirements of nationalism. For it the main stress and point of departure lies on the political and cultural side. Islamisation is rather the form in which it satisfies the religious problem, of which it also is sensible, than its centrepoint. But it deliberately limits religion to its narrowest sphere and separates it altogether from the other sides of human life. It candidly demands the separation of Church and State and aims at a complete secularisation of life.

Very different was the "Reformation,"—to retain Muḥyi ad-Dīn's expression. For it the reform tendency, which includes the general life of culture and politics as well, is exhausted by the demand for Islamlashmak. For it Islamisation is a return to the original Islam not only by the rejection of the complications and innovations which have adulterated Islam in the course of its historical development, but also, and chiefly, in opposition to the secular tendency of Occidentalism and in a certain sense, of Nationalism. It is therefore a definite religious movement and aims, without prejudice to the utmost freedom in particulars, at preserving the religion in its place as the power underlying and ruling all civilised life. Here, too, it coincides in essentials with the Egyptian Manār tendency but differs in principle from the Nationalists' attitude to religion.

In details both tendencies perhaps differ less in the nature of their demands than in their motives. As, in their criticism of historical Islam they are thoroughly at one in essentials, so they will also be of the same opinion in many practical questions. The difference does not strike one at once, but is nevertheless very real. But, on the other hand it is not to be concluded that Nationalism is indifferent to the religious question. The religious poems of Ziya Gök Alp themselves show clearly enough that his is a deeply moral and religious personality.

We have thus seen what are the really most important types of the modern reform movement in Islam. For, in passing be it remarked, the recent much-discussed formation of sects upon the basis of Islam, which have proselytes also in Europe and America, such as the Persian Bābī-Bahā'ī or the Indian Aḥmediyya will always remain sects which will have hardly any influence upon the march of development of the great Church. So now arises the question whether that movement if completed, really goes far enough to be compatible with modern thought and free acceptance of scientific and technical progress. The question, so expressed, must in my opinion be answered wholly in the affirmative. The dogma

of Islam is at least as little of a hindrance to progressive development as the Christian dogma, not enough, in fact, to be taken into consideration at all. What seemed to be an insuperable barrier was the casuistically formulated law to which seemed to be bound for good a stage of culture inferior to that of to-day. If this is abandoned, and at heart the reformers of all tendencies are frankly prepared to abandon it, then every way of access is flung open to modern progress, even in the western sense.

It may be instructive to observe from a few examples how the Modernists contrive to base upon Islam the reforms they deem necessary. We take as examples certain characteristics of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages, which by general consent are firmly bound up with Islamic law through the very Koran itself, and which, no doubt, stand as the greatest obstacles in the way of the development of culture in the modern sense. Snouck Hurgronje has already shown how inevitable as well as difficult these characteristics are, and also what steps have been taken towards a change.

One of these points is the justification of slavery which was undoubtedly taken for granted and tolerated by Muḥammed but the position of the Modernists in this question is not altogether unfavourable. They are quite right in asserting that Muḥammed enjoined the good treatment of those who were not free and regarded the liberation of slaves as a particularly meritorious act. It is also indisputable that the lot of slaves in the realm of Islamic civilisation would never have called up to the imagination the terrible pictures which are inseparably connected in the European mind with the word "slavery." The border-line between freedom and bondage was always fluctuating, and bondage did not mean complete social degradation. Snouck Hurgronje has laid special stress upon the fact that, after all, since in Islāmic law only prisoners of war may, need not necessarily, become slaves, slavery is actually bound even according to Islamic ideas, to disappear sometime. But

the reformers have gone further. Sayyid Aḥmed Khān, one of the first and most important leaders of the Indian movement, has tried in a learned work, to bring express proof that Muḥammed actually put down slavery. The point here is not so much that this proof cannot stand the critical test of history, as the fact that the incompatibility of slavery with the spirit of true Islam is, in our time at least, a necessary constituent of the idea of all modern-thinking Muslims, an idea which may all the more easily be traced to Islam as Muḥammed's influence really did lean towards greater humanity. Besides, the question is of hardly any practical interest since in the most important Islamic lands slavery has in fact, been abolished by law for a considerable time, and recently is also being suppressed in the smaller states which had contrived to evade European influence as in Afghanistan, and now even Arabia.

Much more important and urgent is the problem of polygamy, since even now-a-days, this is recognised as an established thing. Even in this department it is true that the regulations of the Prophet as to the actual usuage of his people enjoined a certain raising of the status of woman. But on the other hand a number of wives—four—is expressly permitted. The Modernists, of course, reject polygamy altogether. It is now interesting to see how the argument changes according to the degree of mental emancipation. The customary reason to-day, we might say, for the demand for monogamy springs from the fact that in the Koran permission for plurality of wives is granted on condition of justice to different wives. Real justice, however, so they proceed, tacking on certain verses of the Koran, is a thing beyond human power. Consequently polygamy is *muharram katan* (Muḥammed 'Abduh), "absolutely unlawful" (Amīr 'Alī), and it is the duty of the authorities to forbid it. This reasoning is, as I have said, extraordinarily general, and it may even be unobjectionable from the point of view of traditional Islamic knowledge, and hence just suited to make an impression upon orthodox circles. Besides, it may

serve to make the first break in the ban which barred forward development in East. But the method itself shows very little advanced modern thought. It is at bottom just as extreme and caustic as the orthodox position which it assails. Such a method is quite comprehensible in the transition period in which barriers of sentiment prevent the drawing of more results from the given principles than are immediately necessary. It is not to be wondered at that such a reasoning even by the Modernists ends on a conservative note. But the development did not stop there. The real reasons for the demand for monogamy are, of course, quite different. The more openly and sincerely one gradually opposes tradition, the more one is able to cease to conceal these reasons behind somewhat elaborate written evidence. And Muslims who had learnt to think with a regard for historical development could not fail to reject the point of view of written evidence in such questions as aimless and senseless, and only consider as decisive that of the *Maṣlaḥa*, or common good, as S. Khuda Bukhsh quite frankly does.

Perhaps a still harder question, theoretically, than those of slavery and polygamy is that of *Jihād* or Holy War. Of course it is easy for modern Muslims to brand as false the fanciful ideas of spreading Islam by fire and sword which are still widely circulated in the West; and it might be difficult to reject as totally unjustified the indignation expressed in their apologetics, especially with regard to the Crusades or the banishment of Islam from Spain. But while in the case of slavery and polygamy it may really be only a matter of toleration by the law *Jihād*, according to Islamic law, is decidedly the duty of the community. Indeed it will not be possible to dispute seriously the fact that the Koran demands war against unbelievers until their conversion or overthrow, and not only a war of defence, but also one of offence. This chapter of Islamic law always played a pretty active part in the relations of European colony states with the Muslim peoples under them. And

yet war for the Faith is a thing plainly incompatible with modern ideas as even modern Muslims fully agree. The more conservative branch of the Modernists often confines itself to showing generally that the spirit of the true Islam, which has all along guaranteed toleration for other faiths (Christians and Jews), plainly opposes the idea of a war of offence on behalf of religion and indeed prefers to return to the *Jihād al-akbar*, the higher *Jihād*, ascribed to the Prophet, the struggle with one's own lower self. From the standpoint of the historical development which is becoming more and more established, it is naturally not difficult to reject the demand even of the *Jihād* as only necessitated by the history of the time and unjustified for the present day.

These examples may suffice to show how Islamic Modernism contrives to accommodate itself even with the most ticklish points of the Islamic system in a manner which may make it possible to link it up with the international and progressive trend of modern thought.

Has this reformed Islam, which in its beginnings we may observe in the most diverse places of the wide Islamic world, really still a right to the name of Islam, or it is, to return to the dictum of Lord Cromer, in truth Islam no longer! The final answer, if indeed it is to be anything more than a play upon words, can only be found in the development of the Islamic world as a whole. And only thus is it permissible and profitable to allude to certain points of view which might be important for the understanding of the result of that historical judgment. The Modernists feel that they are thoroughly good Muslims not only Muḥammed 'Abduh, but also men like S. Khuda Bukhsh and Ziyā Gök Alp. Those of the old orthodoxy, who of course at the beginning of the movement were enormously in the majority, and are still, especially as they are supported by the great mass of those who have no opinion, will doubtless be inclined to see in the ideas of reform, which certainly, confessedly or not, include the abandonment of the Islamic law,

a defection from Islam. The reproach of unbelief is now-a-days generally in disputatious theological circles, made pretty freely and rashly, and all the more so just because it usually has not much serious effect, and being so lightly made, it is not taken very seriously. For as the Islamic church is originally and fundamentally one with the state, it has not evolved any definite organisation of its own to examine any such reproach and if necessary deal with it energetically. So the name of Muslim cannot very easily be refused to practically anyone who feels and declares himself a Muslim. In addition the founders and leaders of Modernism were men against whom mainly because of their respected position, and partly because of their undoubted piety, the frenzy of the crowd dared not break out. They themselves did not wish to put themselves outside the Islamic church, nor had the church the will, the power or the courage to draw a dividing line between itself and them. Therefore, thanks to a certain elasticity due to the very lack of a hierarchical organisation of the church, the justification of Modernism seems almost from the beginning to be in principle ensured within its own bosom.

To be sure, there is no possible doubt that Modernism means a wide breach with the ideas of Islam hitherto regarded as binding, and certainly so does the Modernism of the comparatively moderate Wahhābi culture, hardly less than that of those who think more consistently and regardlessly in terms of historical development. For as we have clearly seen, they all, in a greater or less degree, abandon the Islamic law which hitherto was held to be the essence of Islam. But the whole imposing structure of the Islamic system is so constituted that when one part gives way the whole threatens to fall. That fact is brought home to us when the Turkish reformers reject "historical Islam" and go back to "original Islam." It really means nothing else than the giving up of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages, and if Lord Cromer, in his famous pronouncement, has that in mind, then he is right; but even if this civilisation, by the fixity

imposed upon it by Islamic law, has been wrapped up in the cloak of religious consecration, still in reality it never was the essence and heart of Islam. It is conceivable that outsiders have seen rather the outward form than the inner meaning and only too frequently have run the risk of mistaking the one for the other. Islam is *also* religion, religion *to its very core*, a religion which is not only a collection of outward ceremonies, but one which is a conviction, a kind of attitude towards God and the world. Even the boldest Modernists from conviction adhere to Islam in this sense. The West itself from its own history could not fail to understand fully a development of such a kind. For in the conception of Christianity through Protestantism, relatively speaking, the Roman Church of the Middle Ages has in many, if not indeed in all points, a striking parallel with the position of the Islamic Modernists on the one hand and the old orthodox Islamic church on the other. In fact, we might pursue the parallel still further and say Muḥammed 'Abduh and the Egyptian Manār tendency, as well as the Turkish "Reformation," almost exactly correspond to Protestantism which is orthodox and faithful to the church, just as on the other hand the Turkish Nationalists and the most modern Indians do to Protestant Liberalism. Even the not inconsiderable number of Westerners who have no longer any sort of spiritual relation to the church, still for the most part and not without reason feel that they are Christians. It is certain that amongst the Orientals, especially among the many who have enjoyed a modern education, not a few oppose with complete unconcern the very fundamental facts of the original Islam. But we, who have learned to allow the name of Christians even to those who are Christians only in name, have no right to judge the name of Muslim by a standard so much stricter.

There is one objection, however, to be raised to the parallel that has been drawn. Protestantism draws its vital strength from the Reformation, a movement born of religious need which was so intense as to dare the struggle and breach with the

mother church. Islam has experienced no reformation in the full sense of the Western one. Without that, without a storm which stirs men to the depths, is a genuine re-organisation of Islam as a religion conceivable? Does the reform of Islam not lack the very thing that made the Reformation a religious movement and gave Protestantism its religious value? The final answer to this time alone can give. But then there arises immediately the other question, whether the road which the West followed from the Middle Ages to the present is really the only one possible. Is it not conceivable that Islam does not need a reformation in this sense? The great Islamic church is in reality something quite different from the Catholic Church of the West in the Middle Ages. Not only does the Islamic dogma, in this unphilosophic simplicity quite unlike modern thought, present fewer difficulties than the Christian dogma, but, to begin with, Sunni Islam dispenses with what in the Roman Church appears, even to the non-Catholics, as the most splendid, and, in its way, most admirable feature,—its hierarchic organisation. This was, and is, the greatest strength of the Western Catholic Church, perhaps even, in another sense, its doom. With it every attempt to pour the contents of Christendom into new moulds was bound to become a bitter struggle. May the very lack of this not be a condition which makes the problem easier for Islam? On the other hand neither must we fail to recognise that Islamic Modernism has religious as well as other foundations. Wahhābi Puritanism, although by its impulse to consideration of the nature of the Islamic religion it has certainly contributed in a wider sense to the awakening of the reform movement, may have to be left out of account, because by its nature it is hostile to progress. But the Egyptian reform movement, which is in many points undoubtedly congenial with it, is so for the very reason that they have in common deep religious sentiments. In Muḥammed 'Abduh there is at work a power strongly reminiscent of the moderate Pietism of the 18th century on the one hand, while on the other it frequently smacks of Rationalism. Pietism and Ra-

tionalism did not indeed exclude each other even in the West, and a combination of the two seems very well suited to the nature of Islam. With the Indian "New Mu'tazilites" and the Turkish Nationalists there is certainly nothing traceable of Pietism but all the more of Rationalism. We here frequently meet with an enlightenment reaching out beyond the limits of the positive religion. But nevertheless no one can deny to the almost marvellous poems of a Ziyā Gök Alp a feeling that is trully religious. We prefer therefore to cease speaking of a reformation in the realm of Islam in the exact sense which from our own history we connect with the word. The possibility of a real and strong religious life in Islam, even after abandonment of the Islamic law in its historically developed form, is to-day undeniable.

(Concluded.)

MRS. T. H. WEIR.

SALAMANDER

We were tired of watching the hours slip by
On "leave," at the Carlton or Savoy,
And, chancing to meet at the "Stirrup Cup"—
A place in Holborn—to wind things up,
We got to talking of this and that
And by and by into pleasant chat
Came talk of France, and the chance of life
With shells and bombs and the raiders rife.

He must have been drunk, young Bobby Sloane!
Couldn't account for it else I'll own.
For suddenly raising his glass with glee
He said, "Who's willing to bet on me?
"I'll make it a hundred that I am here
"To greet the dawn of next New Year!"

We needed cheering, I can tell.
And one and all we let out a yell
For Bobby was in the Flying Corps—
I could have done with that hundred, or more!
As could all the rest!—So we took his bet
But promptly proceeded to neatly forget!
For kids will be kids, and who would think
To look at Bob he could fly—or drink!
All of us knew he could "sink a few."
But we'd heard that rumor that straight he flew
On his "solo" flight.....
The night was dim
With a scudding moon
I said to Jim
As he and I got a bus in the Strand,
"It's a kind of a night a raider planned!"

We might have gone half a mile or more
When our driver yelled, "We're in for it sure!"
The next we heard was a siren-scream—
The kind of row you hear in a dream
Or as I'd thought only out there in France
Yet here we were, near a Palais de Danse!—
"What's up!" cried Jim ..There'd been no impact
And all was quiet around 'twas a fact
But the lights in the dance-hall went suddenly dim
The street was darkened...I ducked after Jim
As down that street with it's deadened hum
The bombs of raiders began to drum.
That beastly whirr above our heads.....
Where are our airmen? Here are our dead!
And no avengers? A nightmare town!
Then, from Hendon way came swooping down
The boys! We cheered for the Flying Corps.
We could see their wings in a search-light's glare
When it cross-criss-crossed on horizon trip,
Showed other wings too, with a backward tip
And a black cross painted...That deathly sign.
I looked at my watch, it was half past nine
Half past nine on October fourth
Of '17...I could take my oath
That in one of our planes young Bobby flew
One painted a dainty duck's egg blue!
'Twas only a week before with pride
He had taken me up on "official ride."
Now! Over the town and away to the East
A duck's egg beauty, a black-cross beast
(Unless you belonged to the other side
And then the black-cross would have claimed your pride!)
But whichever it was 'twas a fight to see!
(Their airmen had guts. You can't tell me!)

As back and forth those two planes spun
The others appeared to have ducked and gone.
Dipping and swerving, an endless strife
A duel to see but once in a life!

Then, suddenly out of the passive clouds
Descended on Bobby an enemy crowed
With spitting guns and expert short .....
" Come on Bob! Give'em all you've got!"
Yelled Jim. He had recognised it too.....
Then, down swooped the 'plane of duck's egg blue.

" He's done," said Jim. " He fell like a leaf."
But we saw him at once come up beneath
The leader of five...Some one must die!
Like a falling star 'cross a summer sky
Fell the Hun, whilst onto the next one's tail
Roared Bob with an engine like a gale.

Shells whizzed around him...Our own as well
Heaven knows what kept him from Hell!
But Luck doesn't stay with a chap always.....
We saw him fall, the ship ablaze.
Then, the raiders, willing to call it a night
Flew off, and were lost to the groping light.

We rode to the aerodrome right away
To be there to hear who'd survived the fray.
But mostly to shake the kid by the hand,
Or perhaps bare-headed to thoughtful stand.....

But the hour passed and no word came
From that outer confusion. " He played the game!"
We told each other. Went back to town
" 'Twas in flames that ship when it went down.

(He might have survived that hellish spat)
But no salamander could live in *that*!

That night we all met in the tavern again
To talk of the previous night of strain.
And as we were talking of Bobby Sloane
In he came! I gave a groan
For every hair on his head and face
Was gone! But he still had a grin in place.
Singed! As neat as ever you saw
In other ways, not a mark, not a scar!
Bobby Sloane, a freak of the War!

He came to our table and gaily said,
"Well chaps, where girls are concerned I' m 'dead'
"'Till my thatch grows out!—That mustache
I'd grown
"Added lots to my beaty, I'll bet you'll own!"—
Then, half-serious, "Boys! Your bets toss here!
"I think I'll not wait till the 'coming year!'
"Come on. Shell out! A thousand clear!!"
But Jim led us all in a rousing cheer.

MOLLIE THACKERAY WALLER

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF "ABSENTEEISM" AND "MIGRATION" IN INDIAN LABOUR

The migratory character of the labour population in factories, and the somewhat paradoxical feature of enforced idleness co-existent with scarcity of labour in this country have been subjects of almost universal complaint. Indian economists [1] agree that "there is not a single industry that does not complain to-day of scarcity of labour" and ennumerate various considerations that account for the migratory habits. To European observers [2] "the chief consequences of this incessant migration" appear to account for "a low standard of technical efficiency, an absence of responsibility, and a failure, through increased absenteeism, to secure betterment from higher wages of other improvements." The official reports, even while they are sympathetic, affirm that both absenteeism and migration are inevitable judging from "the general uncomfortable environment in factories," [3] and "widespread interest in the possession, or, redemption from the village money lender, of the workers' piece of land in his native village." [4] Yet it is refreshing to read that in answer to a query—"Is there great absenteeism?" by a representative of the "Indian Daily Mail," who interviewed the production Manager of the General Motors in the East newly established in Bombay, Mr. R. G. Jones stated,[5] "it is not much more than one found elsewhere. We do everything we can to create a pleasant atmosphere and the result is that the

1 P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi : The Wealth of India, pp. 371-73.

2 Prof. Burnett Hurst : "Labour and Housing in Bombay"—Sir Stanley Reed's Introduction.

3 Indian Factory Labour Commission, 1908; Dr. T. M. Nair's note.

4 Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928; para. 509.

5 Quoted in the Bombay Labour Gazette, Vol. VIII, p. 438 from the "Indian Daily Mail," Bombay, Jan. 15, 1929.

men like coming to work regularly." The same sentiments were echoed in the representation made by the Bombay Textile Union [6] to the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton, Textile Industry Enquiry) who maintained "that conditions of service, bad housing, and the general climatic conditions in Bombay account for a good deal of the workers' absenteeism, but even under existing conditions absenteeism could be reduced if the employers have the will to do so," besides also "refuting the statement that the Bombay labour was migratory." There is no doubt, therefore, that in regard to these features of absenteeism and of migration—both precise and quantitative knowledge in respect of their extent and incidence, duration and variation, causes and consequences, remedies and their probable results, as well as complete statistical interpretation of suitable information are lacking.

There are four demographic criteria that are commonly employed to determine whether the population of any area is steady or migrant, *viz.*, (1) proportion of native born persons, (2) ratio of females to males, (3) the percentage of dependants together with female workers to the total population, and (4) the fraction of young and old persons—each of the ratios tending to increase according to the greater stability of that population in that particular locality. In respect of the city of Bombay which undoubtedly holds a prominent position in Indian industrial life, it is observed that the percentage of persons born in Bombay to total population (at each census from 1871 to 1921) gradually declined as follows :—

31·1, 27·8, 25·0, 23·4, 19·6, 16·0.

At the census of 1921, the sex ratio of females to 1,000 males, while being 785 to persons whose birth-place was Bombay city, was only 525 for the whole of Bombay population clearly showing the incomplete nature of the families of immigrant people. Again, while the proportion of males working was in 1921, only

[6] Reproduced in the B.L.G., Vol. VI, p. 64.

about 20% in India, it was at the same date 52% for Bombay city and about the same percentage for Ratnagiri-district-born-persons in that city, it being known that it is from that district that a large section of Bombay's industrial labour force is drawn. Finally, against the general average 37% of persons within the age period, 15-40, there is in Bombay city (as well among the Ratnagiri residents in Bombay) roughly about 62% of the population in those limits. One fact that clearly emerges from these figures is the peculiar composition of the population of this city, suggesting the very reverse of permanence among them. But apart from these crude tests, it is quite obvious that accurate measures of extent, incidence and variation, and comprehensive interpretation of the causes, consequences and remedies of these features of absenteeism and migration must necessarily be based on statistical considerations. However, it should at once be stated that information on any extensive scale is very inaccurate and at best incomplete, there being wide extensions of meaning given to these terms. Statistical year-books of many western countries do not contain any reference at all to 'absenteeism,' their indexes beginning, for instance, only with 'accidents;' and likewise 'migration' is commonly understood as 'overseas migration.' Absenteeism is, however, usually to be confind to wilful withdrawal from work, or it may be run into absence from sickness or accidents, utilisation of privileged holidays, short time work, or strike and other stoppage of work, or forced lockout and even into unemployment.

Broadly speaking, it may be stated that investigations in the United Kingdom and U.S.A. on absenteeism have been the subjects of study, either incidental to their bearing on industrial fatigue and consequent idustrial inefficiency, or intensively conducted confining them to a small area and to a short duration. Dr. Sargant Florence's thesis [7] in his "Economics of Fatigue and

[7] P. Sargant Florence, Ph.D.: "Economics of Fatigue and Unrest" (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1924).

Unrest," have been to "sum up the results of certain industrial conditions which show themselves in a diminished willingness for doing work and leading up also to industrial inefficiency and economic loss." This author complains of the "wide divergence in current estimates of unavoidable lost time," but classifies absence from work into such divisons as lateness, total absence and so on, and offers some estimates of only minimum unavoidable absence. On this account it is not of direct interest to us while dealing as now with unavoidable absence. The report of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board on absenteeism in British Collieries [8] does not however suffer in this way. It is an intensive inquiry relating to nearly 23,000 miners working for periods of 21 months to six years in a group of ten collieries in Britain. It however includes detailed estimates of correlation of absenteeism and also accident rates with such features as depth of the workings, underground temperature, air velocity, thickness of the seam, labour turnover, and so on. These are not of immediate interest to us either, but this invaluable report contains some references also to absenteeism in relation to age of workmen, different hours of shift, and the distance of the men's homes from the collieries. We read, for instance, that "men living 2·6 miles away show 80 % more voluntary absenteeism (*i.e.*, all absenteeism not definitely attributable to sickness and accidents) than those living 1·6 miles away)." The report on absenteeism in some four U. S. A. cotton mills[9] is however of more direct interest to us in view of the fact that Indian statistics analysed in this paper mostly relate to the textile industry; but this report like the British report on Collieries is also an intensive statistical investigation. "The

[8] Repcrt on Absenteeism in British Collieries, No. ... Industrial Fatigue and Research Board. Also quoted in B. L. G., Sept., 1928, p. 246.

[9] Report entitled "Causes of Absenteeism."

A large proportion of lost time for illness was due to "respiratory diseases" while "digestive disorders" ranked second.

primary object of the investigation was to make a comparison and to discover the relative importance for men and for women different causes of absence and to compare the effect of the department and of the season of the year on men and on women. This was done by examining the records kept by four different mills, comprising mainly the daily reports made by the overseers as to absences in their various departments and the causes of such absences as reported by them. The results are interesting as facts, but it would, of course, be unwise to make easy deductions from them, or to impute causation from what may be merely correlation of circumstances. The same proportion of men and women were employed in each of the four mills—the men composing about three-fifths of the total. In the spinning rooms, however, the women generally exceeded the number of men." The important conclusions arrived at in the report may however be briefly exihibited in the following tabular way.

TABLE I.

1. Time lost as a percentage of the possible working time.	Men and Women combined 3·1 % to 16·8 %	
	Men	Women
2. Time lost owing to "illness of self"[9a]	16% —42·8%	14·3% —40·2%
3. ,, ,, ,, "accident"[9a]	7·2% (Max.)	1·8% (Max.)
4. ,, ,, ,, "domestic and personal reasons"	Less than 1 day.	1 to 4·5 days.
5. Average number of days lost	6·5 to 33·5 days.	11·9 to 69 days.
6. Absence during night shift	16·7	18·5

[9a] A large proportion of lost time for illness was due to "respiratory diseases" while "digestive disorders" ranked second.

7. Season of greatest absenteeism		Men and women combined Autumn and Winter.
		Men	Women
8.	,, ,, ,, through "illness of self"[9a]	Winter	Autumn
9.	,, ,, ,, "accidents"	,,	,,
10.	,, ,, ,, "personal reasons"	Spring and Summer	Vide variations,

In the same way the subject of absenteeism was also included in special surveys of wages and hours of labour in Cotton Mill Industry in the Bombay Presidency, conducted once in August 1923, and on the last occasion in May (and July), 1926. On both occasions considerable trouble was taken to obtain reliable information as to attendance, but we read in the introduction to this part of the report that "the worker is frequently absent either through sickness or voluntarily because he has earned sufficient to keep body and soul together and lacks the will to increase his wages to the maximum that could be earned." [10] Apart from this presumption the main statistical results however are as follows :—

1923 Inquiry.

TABLE II.

		Percentage of absenteeism.
All work people.	Entire Presidency.	10·4
Cities	Bombay	11·2
	Ahmedabad	8·7
	Sholapur	11·6

[9a] Ibid.

[10] A large part of this paragraph including the statistical material is based of course on the reports of these two inquires. Brief summaries of these reports also appear in Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1925, pp. 948-72 and May, 1930, pp. 895-900.

TABLE II—*contd.*

		Percentage of absenteeism.
All work people.	Entire Presidency.	10·4
Sex (or age)	Men	9·2
	Women	14·7
	Big lads	11·5
	Children	9·7
(All work people) Basis of wage	Time workers ...	9·8
	Piece workers ...	11·2
Occupations	Frame tenters (Intermediate) (New piece work, Bombay city)	16·5
	Two loom weavers, Bombay city	4·6
	Reelers (women)	17·1
	Spining boys (Time workers, Bombay city) ...	12·8

1926 Inquiry.

Cities.	All work people.	Weavers.	Spinners.
Bombay	... 8·26	4·36	11·92
Ahmedabad	... 7·73	10·76	7·91
Sholapur	... 12·33	15·07	10·69

These results are of course discussed in the respective reports; but we may however mention :—

(1) that in the relative rates of aggregate absenteeism in the cities, the order is at both dates the same with Sholapur claiming the highest and Ahmedabad the lowest—Bombay city working the intermediate place ;

(2) that while Ahmedabad, and more particularly Bombay city have exhibited reduced rates, Solapur reports an increased percentage of absenteeism at a later date;

(3) that generally speaking the minimum rates of absenteeism are witnessed among weavers.

In regard to this last conclusion, it is interesting to note that the Agents of the Appolo and Manchester Mills in Bombay city issued, during a strike in their mills in August, 1927, a statement in which we read "Examination of the Mill books shows that the percentage of absenteeism was, if anything less with four looms weavers than with two looms weavers and completely refutes the suggestion that sickness would result if men had three or four looms to attend to."[11] In regard to the absenteeism in spin rooms it seems to be a common complaint due essentially to the general atmospheric conditions prevailing there, reference to which is made at a later stage in this paper while considering humidification.

While the account that has preceded above is a summary of the findings during certain censuses which the Bombay Labour Office investigated, it is thought desirable to make a different and more technical study of absenteeism than these both in the industries and areas covered, as well as in extent of time. The data for the purpose has again been compiled from the monthly reports of employment situation in Bombay Presidency printed in the successive issues of the Bombay Labour Gazette.[12] This data covers (1) the Textile industry in the following centres—Bombay, Ahmedabad, Viramgaum, Sholapur and Broach, respectively abbreviated—T (B), T(A), T(V), T(S), T(GB) and collectively for all textiles, (2) the Engineering industry distributed over "workshops," "docks"

[11] Reproduced from the "Times of India" of Aug. 12, 1927 in the B.L.G., Aug., 1927, p. 1095.

[12] We found this a laborious task to do, and would desire to suggest that these particulars could conveniently be issued in tabular form in the statistical table printed for month to month in the Labour Gazette.

and "Port trust" (all three in Bombay) and in Karachi Port, respectively abbreviated E(W), E(D), E(P), E(K) and collectively for all Engineering (E). The aggregate of these two, dealing with the entire labour here investigated will be denoted L. This data collects the reports individually by months (in most cases about the 12th of each month) and extends over as much of the period—July, 1922—June, 1927 and also July, 1928—June, 1930 for which particulars were available.[13] The data have been entered as presented in the official sources on the basis of the definition of percentage of absenteeism adopted therein. Naturally enough this basis has not been universally acceptable, and the (cotton) Tariff Board was obliged to remark[14],—"There is, however, some reason to doubt the correctness of the figures both for Bombay and Ahmedabad. We were informed that, in Bombay, a weaver who is absent provides a substitute who, if he is accepted by the mill, is put to work on the looms of the absentee weaver who is then marked present. This practice obviously has the effect of making the percentage of absenteeism appear lower than it really is. On the other hand a detailed census of absenteeism conducted by the Labour Office in July, 1926, showed a total absenteeism of 8·97 per cent. for 18 representative mills, whereas the returns obtained in the usual way from all the Bombay mills for that month gave a percentage of 10·38. Again, in Ahmedabad it would seem that a number of mills do not understand the correct method of filling up the forms and return the number of men who are absent in a particular day and for whom no substitutes have been employed, as the absenteeism for the day." But such as they may be, the crude date furnishes on analysis very interesting conclusions.

[13] For the seven years, in 9 areas, there should have been by months 756 particulars. Against this are included in this analysis 646 items, the balance representing the gaps in the source arising out of strikes, absence of reports, different dates of the inclusion of data of certain areas.

[14] Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry, 1927, p. 134.)

At the outset, we calculated the statistical constants—arithmetical mean and co-efficient of variability—for the monthly absenteeism (expressed throughout as a percentage) in the several industries during the period investigated, the results being given in Table III below :

TABLE III.

Industry	L	T	E	T(B)	T(A)	T(V)	T(S)	T(GB)	E(W)	E(D)	E(P)	E(K)
Mean monthly absenteeism (percentage).	10·42	8·99	11·90	11·98	3·48	2·21	13·89	9·35	14·15	15·46	9·78	8·12
Co-efficient of variability.		57	6	10	14	34	11	14	8	6	9	7

It will be noticed

(1) that there is definitely a greater extent of absenteeism (about 3 per cent. more) in Engineering industries in general than in textiles, and yet if we fail to hear complaint of this there is of course the circumstantial reason that these industries are minor in importance, or are less prominent before the public eye, but there is also the statistical reason ;

(2) that absenteeism in Engineering industries is relatively steady, that is, is fluctuating to a lesser degree and does not exhibit such wide variations as the textiles do.

Again with textiles

(3) Sholapur and Bombay show the highest percentages of absenteeism, Sholapur more than Bombay in regard to extent and variability (but probably losing public notice in virtue of its Moffusal location) ;

(4) Ahmedabad exhibits a significantly low rate of absenteeism (the lowest considering the size of the industry in that locality).

This is probably a well-known feature, as the following extract (wherein some explanation is also furnished for this feature) from the report of the Textile Tariff Board[15] shows

[15] Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) 1927, p. 135.

"Ahmedabad has a great advantage over Bombay in the matter of absenteeism....This advantage was explained to us as being due to the fact that the mill operatives in Ahmedabad are mostly drawn from an industrial population which has been settled in the city for generations. The Muhammadan workers, in particular, seldom possess any land of their own, and, therefore, do not find it necessary to attend to cultivation at certain seasons of the year. The Patils, another class of large workers, are reported to have a custom whereby, if they are two brothers, one attends to cultivation and the other works in the mill alternatively." But in respect of the remark made therein that not only the rate is low but that it is so throughout the year and that wide variations are absent, the results of this inquiry are different. They show :—

(5) that in Ahmedabad

(*a*) the co-efficient of variability is larger (13·51 against 10·35 of Bombay);

(*b*) the constant, statistically equivalent to

$$\left(\frac{\text{Max. value-Min. value}}{\text{Min. value}}\right),$$

which represents the relative excess of the fluctuation over the minimum in any month (and therefore understood to be the unavoidable minimum value of the character studied irrespective of seasonal and other variations)[16] is also larger (55% against 45% of Bombay) ;

(*c*) the index of prolongation[17] is again greater in Ahmedabad (being 29% against 27% in Bombay).

[16] Utilisation of this constant, as well as β and γ called respectively indices of concentration and of prolongation, has been recommended by Prof. L. Hersch in his series of papers on "Unemployment in Building Industry" in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 19, January to June, 1929.

[17] The value of this constant is $\frac{\frac{d}{\sigma}-\sqrt{\frac{2}{n}}}{\sqrt{\frac{n}{2}}-1}$ and that of the index of concentration

(*d*) the index of concentration, which puts the matter inversely, is less in Ahmedabad than in Bombay (being 14% in the former against 17% in the latter).

Further light in regard to the location of the particular months will presently be thrown when we study the seasonal indices.

(6) In regard to Viramgaum and Broach, statistics of which are being furnished from a recent date in the Labour Reports, it is just sufficient to draw attention to the values given in Table III and refrain from detailed discussion.

In regard to the Engineering industries :—

(7) The order in increasing absenteeism appears to be Moffusal labour in Karachi, labour in the Chief Engineering departments in Port Trust, then that in representative workshops, and finally the wholly unskilled coolie labour in Bombay Docks.

(8) But these rates showed uniformly a smaller degree of variability, implying that in spite of large absenteeism there was in general a greater consistency in attendance in these industries.

From the point of view of variability discussed above, the statistical constants ascertained in this inquiry may also be collected together, without further comments, in Table IV ranking the industries in order of greater concentration.[18]

$\frac{\sigma}{d}-1$

is $\frac{}{\sqrt{\frac{n}{2}-1}}$. The paper of Prof. L. Hersch's just referred to may be consulted for these formulæ.

[18] Which is also the order of diminishing prolongation. It may however be noted that the same order need not be maintained in regard to relative excess as this gives statistical quantity ascertained from only two selected values of the variable and not therefore always perfectly correlated with the other indices determined from the entire distribution.

TABLE IV

	T(GB)	E(W)	T(S)	T(A)	E(P)	T(B)	E(D)	T(V)	E(K	L
Index of concentration.	8	8	12	14	14	17	17	23	25	10
Index of prolongation.	63	33	31	29	29	27	28	24	22	33
Index of relative excess.	48	28	44	55	35	45	25	280	32	18

Passing on to the question of incidence as between the several months of the year we give in Table V the monthly indexes expressed as percentages of the mean absenteeism for the year reproducing the same in diagram to enable the comparison to be followed more easily, limiting first to the aggregrate groups T (all textiles), E (all engineering industries).

TABLE V

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Octo.	Nov.	Dec.
L	93	94	105	106	108	104	92	93	101	101	105	99
T	90	96	106	111	110	106	93	97	103	99	97	92
E	96	93	105	102	107	102	91	92	98	102	111	103

We observe that

(1) during the four months March, April, May and June absenteeism tends to be consistently higher than the average;

(2) these months separating on one side, January and February, and on the other, July and August, which are relatively speakiag, months of greater regularity in attendance for labour;

(3) the other months of the year, September, October, November and December do not however indicate uniformity in the two groups of industries, although generally speaking, for all labour put together they seem to mark off the normal level of absenteeism;

(4) although there is no uniformity in the month in which the peak point of absenteeism occurs in the several industries, there is a consistent improving of conditions from November till February, while yet it may also be said that July witnesses the common minimum position of absenteeism.

Finally,

(5) textile, in relation to engineering industries, seem to be worse off for a large portion of the year, *viz.*, during the months of April, May, June, July, August and September definitely and in addition, February and March also to a slight extent. On the other hand during the remaining four months engineering industries are relatively worse, while the divergence occurring adversely to engineering in November is about the largest in any single month.

Now within the group comprised under textiles monthly indexes on the same basis are given in Table VI and these show several important features. Diagram 2 represents the comparative positions of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur, the three principal centres of that industry.

TABLE VI

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
T(B)	91	87	109	98	104	100	98	104	118	114	96	81
T(A)	95	98	95	92	83	83	89	98	109	118	129	109
T(V)	104	172	136	91	104	113	45	72	91	122	104	45
T(S)	95	95	106	120	120	111	86	83	92	93	98	101
T(GB)	82	96	108	120	109	93	82	122	117	95	90	86

It is seen that

(1) the curves relating to Ahmedabad and Sholapur T(A) and T(S) are more evenly progressing than that of Bombay T(B) which exhibits several minor peaks, indicating thereby the greater upheavals to which the industrial labour is exposed to at that centre ;

(2) generally speaking the movements in T(B) and T(A) are alike, while the movement of T(S) which shows, as existing, an inverse correlation also comes into agreement with them on displacing it through a period of about 7 or 8 months; [19]

(3) in the two former areas, August, September and October commonly witness relatively worse months and all the curves show a worsening of conditions as the year advances from July, this tendency starting in the case of Ahmedabad from even one month earlier;

(4) and also while in all the three places nearly the same minimum value is touched, Ahmedabad alone exhibits a marked degree of proportionate absenteeism in the month of November.

Viramgaum and Broach, the other two centres in which this industry is of minor importance, are not here dealt with to save further complications in the diagram, but the relevant data are given in Table VI.

When we consider the variations within the engineering industries, a summary statement of the monthly indexes of which is given in Table VII (also diagram 3).

[19] It is interesting to calculate the co-efficients or correlation between absenteeism in Bombay and that in Sholapur with the values for each month as they stand, and also with the values of one of the centres, say Sholapur, displaced successively by 1, 2, 3,...up to 11 months implying thereby possible correspondence between the two sets of numbers on giving the necessary lead or lag. The co-efficients so calculated, *i.e.*, obtained by setting the figures of Bombay for January and succeeding months against the figures of Sholapur beginning with each month stated and continued the rest of the period of 12 months in a cyclical order, are as follows :—

Jan. — ·06	May — ·70	Sept. + ·76
Feb. + ·06	June — ·40	Oct. + ·25
Mar. — ·09	July + ·26	Nov. — ·23
Apr. — ·36	Aug. + ·77	Dec. — ·25

Hence the remark that the two sets of figures show inverse correlation for a great part of the year but that they can be brought into agreement best by shifting through 7 or 8 months (which is also equivalent to stating that they may be shifted back 5 or 4 months).

TABLE VII

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
E(W)	95	91	107	107	110	110	95	86	93	100	105	102
E(D)	95	96	102	102	107	98	91	94	99	104	114	98
E(P)	98	93	109	98	109	95	87	89	97	107	118	99
E(K)	100	92	100	100	99	103	90	91	103	96	107	118

We note that

(1) the Moffusal centre, Karachi, generally compares, in spite of its large peak in December, more favourably than Bombay ;

(2) while commonly having March, April, May and June ; and again October, November and December as months of increased absenteeism ;

(3) the diagrams in general reveal similarity of conditions in regard to their ' crests ' and ' troughs ' as well also as in the intermediate variations.

K. B. MADHAVA
K. V. KRISHNA SASTRI

JUNGLE NOCTURNE

I live so near the jungle-edge,
That on such moon-enchanted nights
The old familiar charms reach out
And grip me, and I see again
The myriad life that moves there,
Secret and untamed. When most the
Silence seems profound, a thousand
Voices steal upon my ear; the
Jackals, wailing in an anguished note,
Complain unceasingly; the beat
Of distant drums ; the sound of flute;
The owl's lonely call ; the chorus
Of the frogs in some dim pool
Embraced in lotus-blossoms a dreaming
Dreaming in the gracious night ;
The chirp of crickets, and the tiny
Stirring songs of wingéd creatures ;
The tangled shadows in the gloom,
Light-spangled with the fire-flies;
The steamy breath of fecund loam ;
The inscense of the tropic blooms ;
All mix and merge in crucible
Of spells that vanish utterly
By day. The nocturnalia,
Muted and aloof, calls from the
Dense wild green, and drifts on scented
Winds to tempt me, as I seat here
Safe and sheltered from the urge
Of night's sweet magic that I fear
But will forever long to know!

LILY S. ANDERSON

ALI IBRAHIM KHAN

A Forgotten Administrator and Writer

He was the son of Mohamad Nasir, a physician of Patna, where he was born.

When Ali Verdi Khan left Patna, he took with him several learned men to make them settle down at Murshidabad and Ali Ibrahim Khan was one of these, the other being Mir Mohamad Ali Haji Abdullah, the historian and Zahir Hosain Khan who was a cousin of Ali Ibrahim Khan.

After the installation of Mir Qasim in 1760, Ali Ibrahim "who was trustiest of friend and who, to all his innate delicacy in matters of honour and fidelity, joined the incomparable talent of unravelling the most hidden mysteries of administration and of discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts," was appointed as the head of the military finance department where everything was in confusion and the pay of the troops was heavily in arrears.[1] A Hindu financier named Sita Ram was appointed to assist him. Mir Qasim consulted Ali Ibrahim in all important matters of state.

Mir Qasim now began to form many wild schemes of conquests and glory.[2] In these childish projects he was encouraged by several adventurers whose living depended on plunder and conquest. The Armenian adventurer Gurgin Khan the evil genius of Mir Kasim had a special influence over the Nawab and it was at his suggestion that an expedition to conquer Nepal was organised. Relying on the information about the passes sent by some French priests in Lhasa, the expedition started under the command of Gurgin Khan. Ali Ibrahim Khan, throughout, opposed this wild project and protested against the influence of Gurgin Khan.

1 Seir, Vol. II, p. 388.
2 Seir, Vol. II, p. 447.

But when he saw that the Nawab was bent on the scheme, he advised him to send a body of English troops, but it was all in vain. The expedition set out in 1176 Hijri (1762-63). As was expected, the whole project failed and Ali Ibrahim was sent to bring back the demoralized army and its Commander Gurgin Khan. He found the soldiers discontented and ready to desert. However, by his persuasive power he succeeded in bringing back the army to Patna.

When the breach between Mir Qasim and the Company was widening every day, Ali Ibrahim used to advise the Nawab to be moderate and conciliatory in his attitude.[1] But the Nawab was under the influence of Gurgin Khan who encouraged Mir Qasim's hostile attitude towards the English. "Since the advices of Counsels offered by your well-wishers and which your mind approves never fail in the evening to be obliterated by Gurgin Khan's suggestions, it is needless that either your Highness or your friends and well-wishers, should fatigue themselves any more upon an unfructuous subject; for in the end, we all find that nothing is done but what has been advised by Gurgin Khan.[2] It is then proper that this affair should be wholly committed to his care, without giving further trouble to your mind, as well as to every one of us on so disagreeable a subject. Let us all do as he shall bid.....it is but what happens every day. In one word,.....we are unanimously of opinion, that if your princely mind be for peace, Mr. Amyatt's heart ought not to be estranged by actions and words that derogate from the high character which our master bears; and, if you be for a rupture, and for pursuing a plan of military operations on Gurgin Khan's notions and schemes, still, to disoblige a man come on an embassy, is contrary to the rules of a princely behaviour and

1 Seir, Vol. II, p. 464.

2 This letter seems to be genuine because the author knew Ali Ibrahim Khan personally and it is quite conceivable that Ali Ibrahim Khan might have given this letter to the author. See the translator's footnote, Vol. III, p. 83, where the translator says that the author was a personal friend of Ali Ibrahim.

beneath the high dignity of a sovereign. So far from abating anything from the regard and attention which is customary to pay the people of that nation, we are of opinion that some additional token of respect ought to be shown them now, were it because they are come under the safeguard of an embassy. We do not mean to say that the preparations intended for further hostilities ought to be discontinued; on the contrary, they ought to go on. We contend only that such actions as these men complain of, are not of a nature either to add anything to the terror of your name and power, or to detract anything from their own dignity, or from the opinion they entertain of themselves. All these can produce no other fruit, than that of enlarging the foundations of enmity and giving new wings to envy and jealousy."

The words of the above letter fully show his clear-mindedness in his dealings with the English. He recognised the English power fully and always advised the Nawab to keep friendly relations with the Company.

Just before the commencement of hostilities between the Nawab and the Company, a boat of the Company carrying five hundred firearms on its way from Calcutta touched at Monghyr.[1] The Nawab intended to seize the goods. But Ali Ibrahim intervened on the side of peace and reconciliation and objected to the boat being seized. "If peace is in contemplation," he said, "there is no colour in stopping the boat; and if the hostilities are in view then I see no great harm in adding five hundred more masquets to the two thousands already in the English factory. For if we can fight against two thousand, I daresay we can fight against two thousand five hundred."

When the conferences and negotiations between the Company and the Nawab were going on in the early part of 1763[2] and when Vansittart and Amyatt were conducting these

[1] Seir, Vol. II, pp. 464-65.

[2] Burgess, Chronology of Modern India, p. 219 and Seir, Vol. II, pp. 381-82.

negotiations, Ali Ibrahim Khan was the adviser of the Nawab whom he insisted on telling everything frankly and then to start the guerilla warfare, as he saw no chance of success againt the English in pitched battles.

In spite of his opposition to the war, he remained loyal to his master as long as the war lasted. He was with Mir Qasim throughout the campaign. He vehemently opposed the ill-treatment and the subsequent massacre of the English at Patna in 1763. "Ali Ibrahim Khan counselled the Nawab to release the English prisoners named Messrs. Elison, Gee and Luslington and others or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Adams."[1] But the Nawab referred Ali Ibrahim to Gurgin Khan who made all sorts of excuses against their release.

After the defeat of Mir Qasim along with the Nawab Vazier and the Emperor at Buxar in 1764 nearly all the nobles of Mir Qasim deserted him.[2] But Ali Ibrahim "clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those days." Mir Qasim went to Oudh to take refuge with the Nawab Vazier, who, had an eye on Mir Qasim's jewels. Mir Qasim remained in Oudh for a little while, practically a prisoner in the hands of his late ally the Nawab Vazier. The latter was surprised at the fidelity of Ali Ibrahim and he asked the reason why he (Ibrahim) was so faithful to his master. Ali Ibrahim at once boldly answered. "To my knowledge I have not been guilty of any dereliction to my master, except that after the events of Patna, whilst other officers counselled him to go to Dakhin and secure the support of the Marhattas I alone insisted on Mir Qasim to seek shelter with you, the Nawab Vazier and the Emperor." This bold statement, the author of the Seir says, brought tears into the eyes of "even the mean Nawab Vazier."[3]

The Nawab Vazier now demanded a huge sum of money from Mir Qasim on behalf of the Emperor, as a tribute of the

[1] "Ryaz-Us-Salatin," M. Abdus Salam's translation, B. Indica series, footnotes by translator on the authority of the Seir.

[2] Ditto.

[3] Seir, Vol. II, p. 538.

Bengal province, which the Nawab Vazier declared that Mir Qasim had failed to pay to the Emperor. Ali Ibrahim who acted as the messenger between the Nawab Vazier and Mir Qasim, was told that his master could be released if he (Ali Ibrahim) could remain there as the hostage. Ali Ibrahim at once replied that he could be a hostage for his master but not for the money, which he promised, his master would send as soon as possible. Failing in this Ali Ibrahim tried to appeal to the Vazier's sentiments by saying that the world would denounce him (the Nawab Vazier) for imprisoning a person who had come as a refugee. But unfortunately this appeal did not move the Nawab Vazier.

Some of the incidents that occurred during these negotiations besides being interesting, serve to illustrate in a remarkable degree the sublime and lovable character of Ali Ibrahim Khan. A French officer named Gentil [1] who was in the service of the Nawab Vazier came to him at night and offered him protection but he declined this offer with thanks on the ground that he could not protect himself as long as his master was in danger.

Once his tent was surrounded while he was sick in bed. But the officer of the guard came to him and asked him to hide if he had anything of value with him and showed him the utmost consideration.[2]

On another occasion Ali Ibrahim sent a note of protest to the Nawab Vazier against some ill-treatment he had received. His note was carried to the Nawab Vazier by the women of the harem who showed the utmost regard for him.[3]

One of the ministers of the Nawab Vazier offered him a nice job, but he refused.[4] The Nawab Vazier himself tempted him with the offer of the best jobs but he clung to his old master. He was asked to disclose where Mir Qasim had hidden his treasure but Ibrahim refused to betray his master.

[1] Seir, Vol. II, p. 545.
[2] Seir, Vol. II, p. 546.
[3] Seir, Vol. II, p. 547.
[4] Seir, Vol. II, pp. 547 and 570.

In order to effect the release of Mir Qasim, he advised him to turn a Faqir. This had a profound effect on the superstitious mind of the Nawab Vazier who after that began to give better treatment and gave him freedom to move about.

At last after many devices, Mir Qasim escaped from the clutches of the Nawab Vazier and fled to Bereilly in 1764.[1] When his master escaped Ali Ibrahim Khan was still in the hands of the Nawab Vazier. But in spite of this he sent one thousand rupees to Mir Qasim to help him in his flight. Soon after Mir Qasim's escape Ali Ibrahim was free and went straight to Allahabad and from there he went to Murshidabad.

After his return to India in 1764, Clive made a tour and on meeting Ali Ibrahim Khan he appointed him as an Amin.[2] On his appointment he was asked to prepare a list of those Zemindars and other officials who had fled or died. In this list he omitted several names by mistake or intentionally with the result that many people suffered great hardship. "But," the author of Muzaffar Nama concludes, "his honesty and trustworthiness are beyond question."

In 1771, Ali Ibrahim was appointed Diwan of Mubarak-Ud-Daula's household at the recommendation of Mohamad Reza Khan.[3] When the latter was arrested and tried in 1772, Ali Ibrahim was most actively engaged in his defence. His efforts went a long way in the acquittal of Mohamad Reza Khan.[4] Making himself familiar with all the papers of Mohamad Reza Khan he prepared the defence and "resolved to make of his own breast a buckler against all the shafts of those times.....His answers had the power of soothing his enemies."

The author of Seir goes so far as to say that it was through Ibrahim Khan's efforts that M. Reza Khan was released.[5] The

1 Seir, Vol. II, pp. 568, 569 and 572 and Burgess, Chronology of Modern India, p. 221.

2 Muzaffar Nama Folio 202 *a* and *b*, British Museum Mss. Add 16702.

3 Seir, Vol. III, p. 68 and Muzaffar Nama Folio 231.

4 See note on Reza Khan, *vide* Imtiaz M. Khan's correspondence of Col. Murray.

5 Seir, Vol. III, pp. 70-71.

author of Seir says that Reza Khan used to say, "Those that gained Lacs in my service and owe me the very bread upon which they now live, have abandoned and deserted me in the day of need, and have left me alone ; nor has any one been of any use to me in the day of trial, nor am I under the least obligation to a single one of them, save to Ali Ibrahim Khan, my Qibla, that benefactor of mine, who has bought and acquired every ounce of me. No father and no brother would have served me with so much zeal nor done what this man has done."

After his release Mohamad Reza Khan joined Clavering's party in the hope of getting back his post. But " such a step was vigorously opposed by Ali Ibrahim Khan in whose temper, prudence and foresight seem to be predominant." [1] He advised him to wait and see the result of the struggle and to abstain from joining any party. But Reza Khan did not act on this sound advice with the result that twice he was dismissed and reinstated.

In the meanwhile Ali Ibrahim's attempts to enforce honesty in his department alienated all his officials and they all began to intrigue against him.[2] They all approached Mohamad Reza Khan and excited him against this honest man. The mischief began to bear fruit. Reza Khan began to insinuate in public against Ali Ibrahim Khan's dress and his poems. The author of Seir relates a story as to how Reza Khan got an opportunity of dismissing him from the post. Considering the fact that the author is very favourably disposed throughout towards Ali Ibrahim Khan, it seems quite reasonable to accept the story which unfortunately does not do any credit to him and shows the weak side of his nature. It seems that Rabia [3] Begum's daughter Banni Begum had a dancing girl whom Banni Begum at the instigation of Reza Khan encouraged to get into intimate relations with Ali

1 Seir, Vol. III, p. 80.

2 Seir, Vol. III, p. 83.

3 Rabia Begum was the wife of Haji Ahmed, the brother Ali Verdi Khan (see Seir, Vol. II. p. 113 and Vol. I, p. 281).

Ibrahim Khan. The scandal became famous and Reza Khan took this opportunity of dismissing him [1] in 1777-1778.

When Munni Begum quarrelled with Reza Khan she requested the Governor to dismiss him and to appoint Ali Ibrahim in his place as the deputy of the household.[2] With the approval of Hastings, Mubarak-Ud-Daula and Munni Begum both offered this post to Ali Ibrahim and went so far as to give him a written pledge that they would do nothing against his wishes. But he refused this offer.

Nothing is known about him during the three years that intervened between his dismissal from the Diwani of Mubarak-Ud-Daula's household in 1778 and 1781 when he was appointed the chief magistrate of Benares by Hastings on a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month,[3] with three departments under him, the first of which was the Diwani Adaulat with 83 officials, the second was the Faujdari Adaulat with 65 officials and the third was the Kotwali department with 242 officials including a grave digger. Directly under him were (1) a Naib (2) a Darogha (3) 3 Munsifs (4) 2 Maulvis (5) 2 Pundits (6) a Darogha for Faujdari (7) a Kotwal.

The magnitude of the task which was entrusted to him and consequently the great confidence Hastings reposed in him is evident from a letter which Hastings wrote to Wheeler on 1st November, 1781, in which he describes the chaotic condition of Benares since its transfer to the Company in 1775.[4] "The appearance of public justice," he writes, "was gradually effaced, till at last, without any system of police, any Courts of judicature, any awe of the Sovereign power, the inhabitants of Benares were guilty of enormities of crimes which reflected the greatest disgrace on the government to which they were subject. The

1 Seir, Vol. III, p. 83.

2 Ditto.

3 Parliamentary Collection 16 A (second report of the select committee) pp. 512 and 530. India Office.

4 India Office, Parl : Collect., 16 A, p. 527.

relations and dependents of the Raja or the merchants whose credit was useful in the payment of his revenue, might violate the rights of their fellow citizens with impunity, and the sacred character of a Brahmin or the high caste of the offender were the considerations which stamped a pardon on the most flagitious crimes."

The high opinion that Hastings held for Ali Ibrahim is evident from the following extract of the above letter:—

"The person whom I have chosen to fill the important station of chief magistrate is Ally Ibrahim Cawn, a man who has long been personally known to myself and I believe to many individuals of our government and whose character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense will bear the test of the strictest inquiry. On his good conduct must doubtless, in a great measure, depend the success of a plan which is to take effect at so remote a distance from the seat of our government; and it is chiefly from the reliance I have in him personally that I have ventured to delegate a degree of authority to him, which it would perhaps be unsafe to vest in a person of a less established character."

That the great confidence reposed in him by Hastings was more than justified is clearly proved by the following extract from a letter of Cornwallis to the Prince of Wales.[1] The Prince of Wales wrote to Cornwallis a letter of recommendation for his protege Mr. Treves whose ambition was to be appointed to the Adaulat of Benares. "The object of Treves' ambition at present," wrote the Prince of Wales on the 30th May, 1789, "is to be appointed to the Adaulat of Benares which is now held by a Black named Alii Cann. Understanding that most of the Adaulats are now held by Europeans, and as I am informed that it is the intention that Europeans are to be so placed in future in preference to the natives, I should be vastly happy.....if you could place young Treves in that situation."

1 Ross, Correspondence of Cornwallis, Vol. II, p. 28.

Cornwallis in reply to the above wrote [1] on the 14th August, 1790:—"The great and truly respectable character of that magistrate would have rendered it a very difficult and unpopular measure for any Governor-General to have removed him even if the plausible pretext of preserving an uniformity of system with our other possessions, in this part of India, by appointing European judges of Adaulat, would with propriety have been admitted...The measure of removing Ali Ibrahim Cawn which would be in the highest degree disgusting and offensive to the natives, could neither be defended on the principles of expediency or system."

A further proof of his popularity at Benares is to be found in an appeal which he made to the residents and in which he says (summary) "Since the day I have been appointed to this post by the Council I have tried my best to put down abuses, thefts, and the excesses of the priests over the pilgrims. Justice is administered strictly according to Hindu and Moslim laws. Hindus swear on Ganga Jal (holy water of the Ganges) while Moslims swear on the Qoran. In 1783 there was a severe famine in Benares. I induced the governor to abolish the tax on the import and export of corn and I saved the city from disaster. Now I appeal to the residents to certify my statement....."

This appeal which is now preserved in the British Museum (see Supplementary Persian MSS. Catalogue p. 259, MSS 405 : add 29217) is 27 feet long and is full of signatures in Persian and Nagri character. The probable date of this appeal seems to be 1784, because this is the latest date in these signatures. This appeal with all its signatures would have carried very little weight if it were a solitary evidence in favour of Ali Ibrahim but when it is examined in the light of what is generally said about him and specially in view of the above letter of Cornwallis in which he speaks of Ali Ibrahim's popularity at Benares, its value as an evidence increases very much.

[1] Ditto, p. 34.

Last but not the least is the opinion of a man who had himself appointed him to the chief magistracy of Benares and who, in the words of the author of Seir had "the eagle-like keenness of sight." Writing to his wife on 8th March, 1784, he says :[1]—"I have been joined by Ally Ibraham Cawn and Beniram Pundit whom you know that I reckon among my first friends. To the first I am indebted for having raised my character and made it known to every quarter of India by his wise administration of the city of Benares."

How he commanded the confidence of others is further illustrated by an incident which happened at Benares, while he was the chief magistrate there.[2] When Prince Jahandar Shah Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, was on his death bed, he called Ali Ibrahim and entrusted to him his family and children expressing the hope that his family would be well looked after under his care and asked him not to allow his family to go to the Emperor.

He died in 1208 Hijri (1793-1794 A.D.)[3] The Company in recognition of his services appointed his son Nasiruddin Ali Khan in his place and a pension was granted to his family. The Court of Directors approved this just recognition of his services.

* * *

'Ali Ibrahim as a Writer.

(a) *Literature* :

He was the author of several works mainly on history and literature. He was [4] himself a poet and wrote under the double Takhallus of Khalil and Hal. The fact that Mir the father of Urdu poetry and the famous blind Urdu poet Jurat notice him,

[1] S. G. Grier, "Hasting's letters to his wife," p. 276.

[2] See Calcutta Gazette of 12th June, 1788.

[3] De Tassy, History of Hindustani Literature (French), Vol. II, p. 1, and his son's letter to Murray, B. M. MSS. 19502, Folio 91, and Dispatches to Bengal, 6th April, 1798 and 20th March, 1797, India Office Records.

[4] Tassy, Vol. II, p. 2.

shows that Ali Ibrahim was not an obscure poet in his days. According to Tassy he was in his young days very closely connected with Mir and took up Mir's style, which, all the critics of Urdu literature agree in saying, was very pure, chaste and simple. [1]

As a literary critic [2] three of his works are famous. (1) Gulzar-I-Ibrahim [3] which contains the brief notices on Rekhta (Urdu) poets and which was composed at the request of his friends while he was engaged in compiling his two other Tazkirahs. This work contains notices on 300 Urdu poets with a few extracts from their works. (2) Khulast-Ul-Kalam [4] and (3) Suhf-I-Ibrahim. These two works contain biographical notices on 3,263 Persian poets. N. Bland prefers this work to all others on the subject. "Preceding writers on the subject," N. Bland says, "had usually limited their researches to a particular age or to poets who had excelled in one or more styles; but a later author grasping the whole circle of criticism and biography, had given us a complete survey of poetical literature, from its earliest dawn to the very recent period at which he finished his compilation....."

"However," continues Bland, "what in my opinion renders the collection of the Nawab of peculiar importance is the very valuable mass of biographical information it contains not merely in point of quantity of matter only, but for the great critical acumen displayed in selecting and comparing dates and circumstances, and on an attentive comparison of several notices in the Suhi-I-Ibrahim with those of the Atis-Kedah. I am induced, decidedly to give the preference to the former. The judicial habits of the Nawab must have been favourable to his critical discrimination, which his intimacy with Europeans

1 See Mohamad Hosain Azad Ab-i-Hayat (Urdu).

2 See Add 27319.

3 Translated into Urdu with many additions by Mirza Ali Lutf. See Seir-Ul-Musannafin by Mohamad Yahya.

4 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Old Series, Vol. IX, pp. 158-65.

must also have tended to improve.....Ibrahim Khalils Suhf is justly entitled to preference over all others as the ground work of Persian poetical biography in an European arrangement."

Sir William Jones, the famous Orientalist, in his preface of Hatifi's "Deila Majnun" (Calcutta, 1788) says, as regards Ali Ibrahim Khan's work on the biographies of the Persian poets :— "For the short account of our poet...we are obliged to the kindness of Ali Ibrahim Khan, one of the best-bred, most learned and most virtuous Musalmans in the British territories."[1]

(*b*) *Histories* :

Ali Ibrahim Khan's position, as a historian too, is quite eminent. Two of his historical works are available[1] (1) Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan contains a detailed history of the Marhathas from 1171 to 1199 Hijri (1758-1785 A.D.) and was written, as the author says in the beginning "to expose the audacious attempt of Visvas Rao on the throne of the Timurides and to record its signal punishment." It was written during the administration of Cornwallis whom he extols in the usual oriental way in his preface. It was translated almost in full for Elliot by Major Fullerton who thinks it "very valuable for the succinct account it gives of the Marhathas."[2] (2) "Account of the rebellion of Rajah Chait Singh of Benares. The period embraced by this work extends from 19th Shaban, 1195 when the author arrived at Buxar with Hastings on 27th Ramzan in the same year (11 August to 18 September, 1781). He was thus an eye-witness to the events which he records.[3] (3) Besides these two histories, he also wrote "A treatise on the forms of oath of the Hindus."

[1] Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VIII, p. 257 and B.M. Add 26272.
[2] See British Museum of 1865, II.
[3] India Office, Jones MSS. No. LXXX

His Character.

It does not require any extraordinary charitability of imagination to describe the character of a man against whom not a single contemporary has anything to say. He has been mentioned by four different persons of entirely different positions and temperament. The first is Hastings who was his personal and intimate friend and who was indebted to him for having raised his character and "made it known to every quarter of India by his wise administration of the city of Benares." The second is Cornwallis, who, setting aside the recommendations of the Prince of Wales for Mr. Treves, wrote to that Prince saying that he could not remove Ali Ibrahim Khan whose "great and truly respectable character" would render such measure very unpopular. The third is the anthor of Seir who was personally known to Ibrahim and who is loud in his praises. But all the same the author does not hesitate in mentioning his friend's weakness for the fair sex which gave Reza Khan the opportunity for dismissing Ibrahim from the household Diwani of the Nawab Naziem. But before condemning Ibrahim too severely for this single weakness—for there is nothing else on record—it must be remembered that in the 18th century in India, it was almost a fashion in the Aristocracy and Royalty to have their harems full of dancing girls. The fourth is the author of Muzaffar Nama who was a protege of Mohammad Reza Khan as he himself says in the preface, and therefore had no reason to be biased in Ali Ibrahim's favour in view of the quarrel between his patron and Ali Ibrahim. Consequently his opinion about Ali Ibrahim when he says that "his honesty and trustworthiness are beyond question" must carry a great weight.

Even if these opinions were not available, and if the historian had to rely merely on the facts recorded about him, the verdict would have been as favourable as ever. Ibrahim stands before his biographers in many different capacities. First he

appears as the Councillor and servant of Mir Qasim to whom he adheres "with a fidelity uncommon in those days." The advice which he always offers to his master is anything but unsound. But inspite of his being overruled by the influence of Mir Qasim's "evil genius," he does not desert his master when everybody else has left him in his adverse days.

Secondly, he appears as an executive officer in the corrupt Nizamat regime of Mubarak-Ud-Daula, where he alienates everybody for enforcing honesty on the people for whom dishonesty[1] was the means of their living. Reza Khan whom he befriended in his misfortune and who at first acknowledged his obligation in the most glowing term dismisses him. Munni Begum and Mubarak-Ud-Daula offer him the post again with a written guarantee but he refuses, as any honest man would have done.

Thirdly, he stands before us as a Chief Magistrate and Judge of a city which was in a very disorderly state before his appointment, which had recently been annexed to British territory and which contained population which could not love a man of Ali Ibrahim Khan's religion. Yet he succeeded and succeeded completely in his work of evolving order out of chaos. Cornwallis' testimony will go far in proving this.

Lastly, he appears as a man of letters, as a literary critic and historian. In the first capacity, his position is undoubtedly most eminent as is proved by the criticism of such distinguished Orientalists as N. Bland and Sir William Jones. He moved in the best literary circles of the time and was respected and honoured by men like Mir and Jurat, the founders of Urdu poetry.

Ali Ibrahim's character shines all the more gloriously when it is contrasted with those of his contemporaries. "The

[1] See notes on Mubarak-Ud-Daula and Nasir-Ul-Mulk, *vide* Imitiaz Mohamad Khan's "Correspondence of Col. Murray," London University Library.

character of the Princes and other public men," writes [1] Vincent Smith while discussing the 18th century, "had sunk to an extremely low level. Nearly all the notable men of that age lives vicious lives, stained by gross sensuality, ruthless cruelty and insatiable greed."

[1] V. Smith, Oxford History of India, 1923 edition, p. 487.

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN.

THE JOY

Be cold, drop icy words upon my heart;
Be hard and tell me "Go!" With keenest dart
Of angry glances pierce my pleadings through:
I'll forfeit not the joy of loving you!

Refuse the worship of my prostrate soul;
Frown, when with vermiel from the broken bowl
Of my poor life I tinge your lotus-feet:
The joy of loving you will still be sweet!

Someday, somewhere, with unveiled eyes you'll see
The wounds that could not wound my constancy;
Your tears may bathe these wounds that now must pine;—
Will not the joy of loving you be mine?

Or if before the dawn of that fair day,
My heart be laid to earthy worms a prey,
My soul shall watch beside you, ever near:
That purer joy, Belov'd, will be more dear!

CYRIL MODAK

BODH-GAYĀ FROM HINDU POINT OF VIEW

To survey the history of Bodh-Gayā from a Hindu point of view is to witness how from the very beginning it presented the scene of a struggle between Śaivism and Buddhism. So far as Śaivism is concerned, this struggle was rather for the assertion of right to existence than for the establishment of supremacy. The verdict of the historian is bound to be this that throughout this age-long struggle the Śaiva has generally been on the defensive and only occasionally on the aggressive. In other words, the purpose of the present article is to show what apology Śaivism actually had and still has for being where it is.

Buddhaghosha has utilised a legend invented by the Buddhists to account for the growth of Uruvelā into a sandy tract. In spite of the fantastic character of the legend, it may be cited here to show that even in Buddhist belief long before the advent of the Buddha the region was once hallowed by the religious rites and austere penances of a class of Vedic hermits, legion in number,[1] who may be rightly described as precursors of our much-acquainted matted-hair Jaṭilas. The stage in which these old-world hermits are made to appear points to a time when they had not as yet developed a sense of corporate life under a commonly acknowledged leader, everyone doing his work in his own way without waiting for the dictation of anybody else. The legend seeks to keep these hermits distinct from the Jaṭilas by representing them as a body of *religieux*, far more ancient, observing the particular solemn ceremony, the *Kṛittikā-vrata*, connected with the asterism *Kṛittikā*[2] (the

[1] *Papañcha-sūdani*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 202: *Atīte kira anuppanne Buddhe dasasahassa-kulapattā tāpasa-pabbajjaṃ pabbajjitvā tasmiṃ padese viharantā.*

[2] *Papañcha-sūdani*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 202: *Kattikavattaṃ akaṃsu.*

Pleiades of western astronomy) constituting the first constellation of the Lunar Zodiac,—a holy rite so exuberantly extolled in the Brāhmaṇas, especially in he Śatapatha.[1] The legend distinctly says that the tradition of such an observance by these ancient hermits furnished the pious posterity with a good excuse for commemorating it by demarcating the site, fencing it round, and raising it into a place of special sanctity.[2]

Leaving aside these ancient Vedic hermits who had no rival to encounter, we may come down to the historical period and witness how just prior to the rise of Buddhism and at the time of Buddha's enlightenment the distinguished body of the Jaṭilas, the predecessors of the Śaiva ascetics, were holding unquestioned sway over the region of Uruvelā,[3] unmindful of what was portended by the appearance of a new star on the horizon. Their hearth and home was the hermitage (*assama*) overlooking the glassy flow of the Nerañjarā which in its downward course also washed the village of Senāni-gāma and the sombre site of the Bo-tree. Performing as they did the sacrificial rites, daily ablutions and other duties they were spending their time in perfect peace and contentment without brooking any cause of fear. The princely ascetic Siddhārtha was completely at liberty to move about and act as he pleased and seek a religious career as well he might. Even his great attainment did not excite their grudge or jealousy, and his movements and ponderings immediately following it did evoke any feeling of suspicion neither. If we can rely upon the authenticity of Buddhist records, both canonical and post-

1 *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (S.B.E) : " He may set up the two fires under the *Kṛittikās*, for they, *Kṛittikās*, are doubtless *Agni's* asterism. So that if he sets up his fires under *Agni's* asterism (he will bring about a correspondence between his fires and the asterism)... Moreover, the other lunar asterisms consist of one, two, three or four stars, so that the *Kṛittikās* are the most numerous (of asterisms). Hence he thereby obtains an abundance."

2 *Papañcha-sūdani*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 203 : *Pacchimā jānatā chetiyaṭṭhānaṃ akāsi.*

3 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, IX.

canonical, we cannot but admit that even when the Buddha wended his way back to this tract with the sole object of subduing the Jaṭilas of the place and entered into their hermitage, they unsuspectingly accorded hospitality to him treating him as their distinguished guest. When on his first arrival at their hermitage he enquired if they had any objection to allowing him to stay for a night in their fire-room, which was undoubtedly the *sanctum sanctorum* in their dwelling place, it was frankly pointed out that they had no objection whatever, and that if they had any scruple in the matter, it was due only because of their fear that his life might be in danger from the fury of a Serpent-king who jealously guarded the hearth. They were all very glad that he took up his abode in the charming woodland near by and found there a suitable place of sojourn. During all the time of his stay at Uruvelā they paid respectful attention to him. The only instance of exception to be noted is that at the approach of the day of 'great sacrifice' (*Mahāyaññā*), the annual function celebrated as the most joyous occasion by all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha, they wished in their heart of hearts if he would think well not to make his appearance at their residence on that particular day, fearing lest his superior personal dignity and charm might overpower the credulous multitudes who would assemble, and serve only to increase his gain and fame and decrease those thitherto enjoyed by them. But even with respect to this the Buddhist account carefully points out that that, too, was nothing but a passing thought. For although to allay their fear the wise Buddha had retired of his own accord to a place far off, they felt sorry that he was not to be found in the locality when they wanted to greet him also on that day with their usual hospitality.

The reformist zeal which actuated the move on the part of the Enlightened One of great hypnotic powers naturally carried with it the love of conquest and the spirit of aggression. Thus we need not be astonished to see that the Buddhist chronicler

has aptly described the conversion of the Jaṭilas by the Great Buddha as *Jaṭila-damana* or Infliction of defeat on the matted-hair ascetics of the Gayā region by the employment of all stratagems consistent with his position. The matter did not stop here. The account glibly proceeds to narrate that the powerful victor made an open exhibition of these convert-captives in the great metropolis of Magadha to the very people who had so long paid their unstinted homage to them.[1]

The muse of history is strangely mute over the long roll of events affecting the interests of the Jaṭilas as Jaṭilas within the bounds of Uruvelā during the succession of centuries. The life of this region as portrayed in the informative itinerants of Fa-Hian breathes altogether a Buddhistic atmosphere, although the Chūlavaṃsa would have us believe that Buddhaghosha, who was destined to figure as the greatest among the Pāli commentators, hailed from a Brahmin family of Bodh-Gayā and had excelled in Vedic lore with all the auxiliary sciences and arts and drunk deep of the fountain of Patañjali's system,[2]—the acquisition which he succeeded in bringing to bear upon his interpretation and defence of Buddhism. If this story be true, the gifted Brahmin youth saw the light of the day in the same neighbourhood of the Bo-tree where after the great event of Buddhahood the sage of the Śākyas happened to meet and converse with an erudite Brahmin vaunting of his knowledge of Vedānta, the Brahma-lore. The Buddha is said to have been pressed with the inquiry as to the qualities that go to make a real Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa-karaṇā dhammā*).[3] It will not be far from legitimate, we think, to infer that the even tenor of Brahmanism remained unbroken in Uruvelā, and that the light of Vedic lore was kept ever burning and it did not extinguish even under the glamour of the new-born

1 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, 22.

2 *Bodhimaṇḍasamīpamhi jāto Brāhmaṇa mānavo*
Vijjāsippakalāvedi tīsu Vedesu pāragū
parivatteti sampuṇṇapadaṃ rattiṃ Patañjali-mataṃ

3 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, 2.

faith which dazzled the place and the people. Brahmanism never ceased to be the living force.

Brahmā, according to Buddhist tradition, is the supreme Brahmanical deity who prevailed upon the Buddha to proclaim the new faith to the world for the good of mankind. It is again the Vedic or earlier Brahmanical deities Śakra and Brahmā who at every important step looked after the comforts of the Enlightened One preaching his new gospel. With the tide of time the tradition changes its complexion, Śakra retires into the background, Brahmā is in a mood to retire yielding place to Lord Śiva under the iconic form of Maheśvara on whom devolves the benign work of acting as the guardian angel to Dharmeśa-Dharmeśvara, the Buddha transformed.[1]

The protracted law-suit fought between the present Śaiva Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā and the Anagarika Dharmapala of the Mahabodhi Society is popularly known as a case between the Hindus and the Buddhists for the ownership of the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area. The Mahanth's claim to ownership, which the court of law has in some sense upheld, is said to have been based on "some *sanads*, or grants, given to his predecessors in the 16th or 17th century A.D. by one of the Mughal emperors, either Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan." Without entering here into the merits of the case which has been a cause of much chagrin of feelings to the Buddhist world we may maintain that the Buddhist leader would have pressed a wrong issue if he had instituted a title-suit at the first instance for the possession of the shrine, the apple of contention. If *de facto* possession be the main incidence of the law of real property, it could not be denied that the Mahanth was in actual possession of the shrine at least in the sense that it was situated within his undisputed jurisdiction and as such he could not but appear as a hereditary custodian of the towering temple with the sanctuaries

1 Maheśvara-devaputra of the *Lalita-vistara* is honoured in two of the Barhut Jātaka-labels by the designation *Arahagutadevaputa* (*Arhadgupta devaputra*).—Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions.

around from a date when there were no Buddhists in the locality or anywhere else in India proper to take care of it. The first decision of the court of law has indeed allowed the Śaiva Mahanth to enjoy the fetish of legal ownership over the site of the greatest known Buddhist shrine in India, and has even recognised his claim to act as its *sebayat* or beneficiary, investing him with the right of regular worship within its holy precincts. But it has not at the same time debarred the Buddhists from the right of entering into the sacred area and conducting worship in their own approved ways.

In point of fact, this decision, interesting in itself, coupled with the provisions of the Government of India Act for the preservation of ancient monuments of India, has served just to push the question of ownership into the background and bring the question of control to the forefront. Neither the Śaiva Mahanth, the acclaimed owner of the holy site and *sebayat* of the temple, nor the Buddhists of the world who are tormented with chagrin of feelings that the ownership does not formally belong to them, possess any longer the right of making structural additions and alterations within the shrine itself or its compound, removing anything of antiquity from the sacred area, or preventing each other from performing religious rites and paying worship in the approved ways of each. One of the responsible officers deputed by the Public Works Department to act in behalf of the Department of Archæology remains placed in charge of the great temple and all other ancient monuments to be found within its wide surroundings. Just at the lower end of the sacred area a passer-by has to turn aside to mark the imposing sight of the high wall surrounding the impregnable citadel of the Śaiva Mahanth serving as a Brahmanical monastery ; so walking higher up his eyes are sure to be pleased to get a sense of relief at the sight of the open doors of the welcoming Buddhist rest-house built in recent times under the auspices of the Mahabodhi Society, while close by on his right stands, half hidden from view, the quarter of the P. W. D.

officer who is really vested with the power of control. The rest-house prominently stands overlooking the towering temple and the entire site remains open, day and night, to all pilgrims, official visitors and sight-seers. While certain employees of the Śaiva Mahanth lie in wait to catch hold of some of the credulous Hindu pilgrims, decoy them into some dark recesses tempting them with the rare sight of the figure of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and other unimportant Hindu divinities, and sluggishly proceed to delude them into the belief that the shrine is a Hindu one, the trained guides appearing prominent with the badge and livery of the Department of Archæology take the inquisitive visitors and sight-seers round the temple drawing their attention to all lingering antiquities of importance and filling their hearts with overwhelming awe at the sight of the undying works of Buddhist devotional piety. Though the question of ownerehip has thus been thrown into the background and the power of control virtually rests with certain departments of the Government, strangely enough, the apple of contention continues as before to trouble the two worlds, Hindu and Buddhist. And sad it is to find that the leaders of these two communities have hitherto failed to set the remaining question of approved modes of rites and worship at rest by forming a committee of experts from both the sections of people to determine the modes that would be prejudicial to none!

The case of the Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā, even as it stands to-day, gives rise to these two important issues, each calling for a definite opinion from the impartial historian: (1) whether or not, the Mahanth as the acknowledged head of a sect of the Śaivas or worshippers of Maheśvara, who have permanently settled down in Bodh-Gayā can claim to act as a hereditary custodian of the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area; and (2) whether or not, the Mahanth as a recognised head of the Hindu community can legitimately claim the right of worship of the Buddha-image, the Bo-tree as well as the Hindu divinities in the sacred area of Mahābodhi in his own approved ways.

As for the first issue, we have already noted that a time came when in the Buddhist legend itself, the Śaiva Brahmanical deity Maheśvara was entrusted with the benign work of acting as the guardian angel to the Buddha. The testimony of Hwen Thsang clearly proves that as early as the 7th century A.D. the Buddhists themselves freely recognised the very temple in dispute as a magnificent erection of the devotional piety of a Śaivite Brahmin who undertook the costly work under inspiration from no other deity than Maheśvara, the Lord of Mt. Kailāsa. The belief then current among the Buddhists of Bodh-Gayā indeed was that when Maheśvara, the supreme deity of the Śaivas, generously inspired his Brahmin votary to erect the great shrine to the Buddha, he inspired also the younger brother of this Brahmin to excavate the tank, the *Buddha-pokhar*, on the south side of the temple. If we can rely upon the testimony of the great Chinese pilgrim, the life-like image of the Buddha which he found enshrined in the main sanctuary of the temple at the time of his visit was the wonderful handiwork of a skilled Brahmin artist employed by the builder of the temple. If the two Brahmin brothers had afterwards become votaries of the Buddha, for that, too, the credit is due at the first instance to Śiva-Maheśvara, the Brahmanical deity ungrudgingly rendering distinct service to the Buddha.[1] To quote Hwen Thsang in his own words :[2]

"On the site of the present *vihāra* Aśoka-rāja at first built a small *vihāra* (shrine). Afterwards there was a Brahman who reconstructed it on a large scale. At first this Brahman

1 So long as the fact remains that the Śaivite Brahmin created the temple to the Buddha for the fulfilment of a worldly desire, namely, the securing of the post of minister to a reigning monarch, the question as to whether he commenced the pious work as a lay worshipper of Śiva or as a lay worshipper of the Buddha is immaterial. A Hindu openly professing to be a devotee of Śiva or of Brahmā or of Vishṇu may proceed to make a religious offering even in honour of a Muhammadan saint or Fakir in all sincerity of heart for the fulfilment of a worldly desire, say, for having the birth of a male child in the family, without ceasing thereby to be a Hindu.

2 Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 119.

was not a believer in the law of Buddha, and sacrificed to Maheśvara. Having heard that this heavenly spirit (god) dwelt in the Snowy Mountains, he forthwith went there with his younger brother to seek by prayer (his wishes). The Deva said, those who pray should aim to acquire some extensive religious merit. If you who pray have not this ground (of merit), then neither can I grant what you pray for.'

The Brahman said, 'What meritorious work can I set about to enable me to obtain my desire?'

The god said, 'If you wish to plant a superior root (growth) of merit, then seek a superior field (in which to acquire it). The *Bodhi-tree* is the place for attaining the fruit of a Buddha. You should straightway return there and by the *Bodhi*-tree erect a large *vihāra* and excavate a large tank, and devote all kinds of religious offerings (to the service). You will then surely obtain your wishes.' ''

The Brahmans having received the divine communication, conceived a believing heart, and they both returned to the place. The elder brother built the *vihāra*, the younger excavated the tank, and then they prepared large religious offerings, and sought with diligence their heart's desire. The result followed at once. The Brahman became the great minister of the king. He devoted his emoluments to the work of charity. Having built the *vihāra* he invited the most skilful artists to make a figure (likeness) of Tathāgata when he first reached the condition of Buddha. Years and months passed without result; no one answered the appeal. At length there was a Brahman who came and addressed the congregation thus: 'I will thoroughly execute the excellent figure of Tathāgata."

King Śaśāṅka of Bengal, the hated rival of the Pushpabhūti royal family and blackmailed in the court-history of Kanauj as the base assassinator of King Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of Harsha, is made to appear in the pages of the Si-yu-ki of Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim and Buddhist priest, as a formidable enemy of Buddhism. The

cutting down of the sacred Bo-tree is mentioned in broad letters as the very first heinous act, of vandalism, on the part of wicked Śaśāṅka, which he intended to consummate by the destruction of the main Buddha-image of the great Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gayā. How far the blackening of the character of Śaśāṅka by Hwen Thsang was due to the prejudice which the Maukhari court naturally tried to create in the mind of the inquisitive but credulous Buddhist pilgrim and foreign traveller, entertained as its most distinguished guest, is still a problem for the sober historian to solve. Suspicion begins to grow and gain in strength on this point as we find that after the sword had failed to sufficiently retaliate the wrongs done to the Maukhari family by the artful rival from Bengal, the pen of the court-poet Bāṇa was employed to feed fat the ancient grudge. The spirit which enacted this court-record would only find its fulfilment in duping an eminent foreign agent with unique attention, honour and courtesy to act as a very powerful agent, though unconsciously, for broadcasting the stigma it sought to attach to the hated name. It may appear from the procedure followed by the Maukhari court that it did not let off this agent to do its work before it had succeeded in creating these two delusive impressions: (1) that King Harsha was a fervent Buddhist although still paying the customary homage to the god Maheśvara, and (2) that on the other hand, wicked Śaśāṅka of the far east proved himself only to be a fanatical desecrator of Buddhism in the holiest of its shrines while madly acting as an avowed champion of the cause of Lord Maheśvara.

We have already cast our doubt over Hwen Thsang's account relating to the attempt of Śaśāṅka to destroy the Bo-tree by cutting it down. Now with regard to the remaining portion of his account that relates to the Śaiva king's project of replacement of the Buddha-image by a figure of Maheśvara in the main sanctuary of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā,[1] we

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*. Vol. II, pp. 119-120.

may reasonably maintain that the palpable self-contradiction, inherent in it, alone suffices to indicate that it is not exactly the gospel truth. It will be worth while to reproduce here the words of the Chinese pilgrim to establish our contention.

"Śaśāṅka-rāja having cut down the Bodhi-tree wished to destroy this image (the figure of Tathāgata enshrined in the great temple) ; but having seen its loving features, his mind had no rest or determination, and he returned with his retinue homewards. On his way he said to one of his officers, 'We must remove that statue of Tathāgata and place there a figure of Maheśvara.'

The officer, having received the order, was taken by fear, and, sighing said, 'If I destroy the figure of Tathāgata, then during successive *Kalpas* I shall read misfortune. If I disobey the king, he will put me to a cruel death and destroy my family; in either case, whether I obey or disobey, such will be the consequences; what, then, shall I do? '

On this he called to his presence a man with a believing heart (*i.e.*, a believer in Buddha) to help him, and sent him to build up across the chamber and before the figure of Buddha a wall of brick. The man, from a feeling of shame at the darkness, placed a burning-lamp (with the concealed figure) ; then on the interposing wall, he drew a figure of Maheśvara-deva. The work being finished, he reported the matter. The king hearing it, was seized with fear ; his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died. Then the officer quickly ordered the intervening wall to be pulled down again, when, although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning."[1]

From this account it does not certainly appear that Śaśāṅka, the decried royal promoter of the Śaiva cause, was either a religious fanatic or a vandal, but rather as one on whose mind the very sight of the lovely figure of the Buddha, the

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 121-122.

lasting work of fame of a Brahmin artist enshrined as the greatest object of veneration in the temple erected by a Śaiva Brahmin, produced the deepest impression. It seems that nothing would be more distant from his intention than the destruction of such an awe-inspiring image. The account itself clearly shows that his mind was so tenderly disposed then that even a passing thought of this kind would be strong enough to fill it with fear and trepidation of heart. It would be simply a misreading of fact to take the account to mean that the king of Bengal marched with his troops and transports to Bodh-Gayā with the sole object of converting the Buddhist shrine into a Śaiva one. The impression which it creates rather is that when he had halted at Bodh-Gayā on his return to his capital after having carried out a campaign in the kingdom of Magadha or further west, he eventually visited the recently built famous shrine. A seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka found on Rhotasgarh [1] may be taken to establish that he was marching by the highway of which we have a familiar description in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita-vistara.

Even if we take Hwen Thsang at his own word, the king's command to his officer was not to destroy the Buddha-image but just to "remove that statue and place there a figure of Maheśvara." How his officer could construe the simple and unambiguous words of the king to mean destruction is something beyond our conjecture. The account proceeds further to narrate that the impending calamity was averted by the officer by an ingenuous plan of seeking the aid of a pious Buddhist devotee to keep the Buddha-image concealed by a brick-wall erected across the chamber with a figure of Maheśvara drawn upon it. This ingenuous plan would, however, prove to be a very poor device if the Śaiva king were, as alleged, bent upon the work of destruction. Whatever might have been the import of the king's command, it transpires that it was anything but the destruction of the Buddha-

[1] Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. III, p. 284, The inscription reads *Śri-mahasamanta Śaśaṅkadevasya.*

image. The task was anyhow left to be executed by a pious Buddhist devotee, and when it was executed, the figure of Maheśvara was assigned a place nowhere else but on the covering wall as if to make it play the humble rôle of a guardian angel of the Buddhist sanctuary. We cannot reasonably interpret the whole affair as tremendously gratifying to the Śaiva spirit for aggrandisement.

If, as it seems, Śaivism became aggressive from the 5th or the 6th century A.D., or even from a still earlier date, under the strong support of such powerful kings of northern India as Śaśāṅka, it must be conceded that it had tried to make its supremacy felt not only at Bodh-Gayā but over the entire region of Gayā. Viewed in its true historical perspective, this work of aggression on the part of Maheśvara was to gain an ascendancy over his rivals Śakra and Brahmā, and so far as the Buddhist shrine of Bodh-Gayā is concerned, he sought to step into the place of these earlier guardian deities, and never to usurp the eminence of the Buddha.

Proceeding further down to the earlier period of the reign of the Pāla kings of Bengal, say, "towards the close of the 9th, or the beginning of the 10th century A.D." which was about to see the full blossoming of the budding architectural and sculptural features of the life of the Gayā region as a whole, we happily chance upon an important epigraphic record of one Keśava, son of Ujjvala, the stone-cutter, clearly showing how the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholars and their successors were living at Bodh-Gayā side by side with the Buddhists of the place without any feeling of enmity or discord. The record goes so far as to indicate that a devout Hindu was freely allowed to set up a stone-figure of Śiva-Brahmā (Mahādevaśchaturmukha) within the temple of Buddha-Dharmeśa for the benefit of the Śaivite Brahmin scholars of the locality. As Dr. Bloch informs us, the stone containing this inscription, in nine lines, is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and it shows three figures, Sūrya, Śiva and Vishṇu, "all of very crude fabric,"

Sūrya to the proper right, Siva in the centre and Vishṇu to the proper left. The inscription itself occupies a space just beside the figure of Vishṇu. The enshrined object of worship is a Śivaliṅga of the type which is "exceedingly common in North-Eastern India" and is "still called *Chaumukh Mahādev* as in the inscription,"—a phallic symbol of Maheśvara with four faces, which may be looked upon as an adaptation of "the well-known images of Brahmā, by the Śaivas." The enshrinement of such a peculiar type of Śivaliṅga at Bodh-Gayā evidently resulted from the same process of synthesis or compromise between Śaivism and Brahmanism which found expression in the figure of Prapitāmaheśvara, a Śivaliṅga showing the face of Brahmā, installed at Gayā proper during the Pāla period. The inscription which is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla reads as below :—

a. TEXT.[1]

L1—*Oṁ* (||) *Dharmeś-āyatane ramye*
Ujjvalasya śilābhidaḥ || *Ke*—
L2—*śav-ākhyena putreṇa Mahādevaś*—
chaturmukhaḥ || *Śreshṭha*—
L3—*me* ⏑ ⏑ – –⏑ *Mahābodhi-nivāsināṃ* ||
Snātakā—
L4—(*nāṃ*) *prajāyāṣ-tu śreyase*
pratishṭhāpitaḥ || *Pushkari*—
L5—*ṇy=atyagādhā cha pūtā Vishṇupadī-samā* ||
Tritaye—
L6—*na sahasreṇa drammāṇāṃ khānitā satāṃ* ||
L7—*Shaḍviṅśatitame varshe Dharmapāle mahībhuji* ||
L8—*Bhādra-va* (*ba*)*hula-pañchamyāṃ sunor Bhāska*—
L9—*rasy=āhani* || *Oṃ* (||).

[1] Based on Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* in *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report for 1908-9, p. 150.

b. Translation.

[Commenced with Oṅkāra, the Vedic praṇava]

(A figure of) *Chaumukh-Mahādev*[1] has been installed in the pleasant abode (temple) of (Buddha), the Lord of Righteousness,[2] by Keśava, son of Ujjvala, the stone-cutter, for the benefit of the descendants of *snātakas* (the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholars) residing at Mahābodhi (Bodh-Gayā), A tank, of exceeding depth and holy like the river Ganges[3] has been excavated for these good people at the cost of three thousand *drachmas.* (Written) in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, the enjoyer of the earth, on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, on a Saturday.

[Concluded with Oṅkāra]

We have already tried to show that after the Pālas and during the reign of the Sena kings of Bengal Buddhism fell into decay in the region of Gayā and even at Bodh-Gayā, due apparently to the lack of active royal support, and that the early history of Bodh-Gayā from the Buddhist point of view came to be closed with certain votive erections and pious works done under the auspices and during the reign of king Aśokavalla of Sapādalaksha in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. Thereafter came the deluge by the onrush of Islamic forces causing a sweeping destruction to the sanctuaries in the Holy Land, in consequence whereof the Buddhists permanently lost their foothold at Bodh-Gayā as at all other important centres of their influence in India proper. The later Gayā-māhātmya, composed in the

1 A *liṅga* with four faces, being a phallic device, representing of Śiva and the four-faced Brahmā.

2 *Dharmeśa* or *Dharmeśvara* is a designation of the Buddha-image worshipped at Bodh-Gayā.

3 Bloch has missed altogether the sense of the word *Vishṇupadī* as used in this inscription when he takes it to mean the footprint of Vishnu. The word *Vishṇupadī* signifies in Sanskrit nothing but the river Ganges.

13th or the 14th century A.D., reveals a changed state of things when the Brahmins of Gayā brought misery on their life by going out of their jurisdiction to officiate as priests at the worship of the Buddha-Dharmeśvara at Bodh-Gayā. And Abul Fazal of Akbar's court writing his Ain-i-Akbari in the 40th year of the reign of his imperial master, says that the votaries of Buddhism were nowhere to be found in India of his time except in Kashmere where on his second visit he came across some aged persons yet holding fast to this faith, but none of them could be taken as a learned representative of the religion. He distinctly mentions that the religion of the Buddha had found its stronghold at that time in such distant corners of the earth as Tibet, Tenasserim and Dhaññasiri (Arracan).

Thus we may dispose of the first issue with the observation that from the earliest times till now the Śaivite Brahmins have neither lost nor waived their coveted right of acting as hereditary custodians of the Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gayā.

And as for the second issue concerning the right of the Hindus to worship the Buddha-image Dharmeśvara, the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* in the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area, we have noticed that as far back as the Kushāṇa age it is enjoined in the Epic version of the earlier Eulogium that every pious Hindu visiting Gayā should make it a point to go also to Dharmaprastha or Bodh-Gayā and have a sacred touch of the Buddha-image of the place. The later Eulogium in the Purāṇas enjoins in the same manner that every Hindu pilgrim to the Gayā region desiring to release the departed spirits of his ancestors must visit also Bodh-Gayā to pay his respectful homage to the Buddha-image Dharmeśvara as well as the Bo-tree *Aśvattha*, and prescribes a set formula of prayer to be addressed to the Bo which happens to be no other tree than an Indian Fig :

> Namas te Aśvattha-rājāya Brahmā-Vishṇu-Śivātmane |
> Bodhi-drumāya karttṛiṇāṃ pitṛiṇāṃ tāraṇāya cha ||
> Ye asmat kule mātṛivaṃśe bāndhavā durgatiṃ gatāḥ |
> tvad darśanāt sparśanāch cha svargatiṃ yāntu śāśvatīm ||

Ṛinatrayaṃ mayā dattaṃ Gayām āgatya Vṛikshārāṭ |
tvad prasādān mahāpāpād vimukto' haṃ bhavārṇavāt ||

"I bend my head low in obeisance to thee, O Aśvattha, the lord of trees, standing as a living form of the Holy Triad of our pantheon with thy high fame as Bodhi-druma, the renowned Bo, for the release of the dead forefathers, the makers of the line of descent.

Those in my direct line and those connected with the mother's line, the kith and kin who have gone into the state of woe, may they, from thy holy sight and touch, pass into an eternal state of heavenly life.

The triple debts have I paid, O king of trees, by coming on pilgrimage to Gayā. By thy benign grace am I rescued from the awful ocean of existence and liberated from deadly sins."

Thus this set formula of prayer or hymn of praise sets forth the Hindu purpose in pilgrimaging to Bodh-Gayā, and paying homage to the Buddha-image Dharmeśvara and the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* which is no other than the securing of release of the dead forefathers from the state of woe, the payment of triple debts and the liberation from all dreadful sins. The same is, no doubt, the inner motive which guides the pious action of even the Buddhist pilgrims from some part of India of our time. We must humbly differ from Dr. Bloch[1] when he suggests on the strength of the above hymn that the Hindus do not pay homage to the Fig tree which stands as the living symbol of Buddhism but to a second pipal tree which stands to the north of the Bodh-Gayā temple and is larger and finer than the Bo. The wording of the invocation hardly leaves any room for doubt that the pipal forming the object of veneration is none other than the Bo-tree *Aśvattha*.

Considered in the light of these historical evidences, on the second issue, too, we have to pronounce our judgment in favour of the Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā and freely recognise his right

[1] Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* in *Archaeological Report*, 1908-09, p. 152.

of worship at the Buddhist shrine in accordance with the traditional Hindu mode.

But the question yet remains: Have the Buddhists themselves ever disputed the Hindu right of worship at their shrines? So far as our information goes, the Buddhists have never and nowhere prevented the Hindus from either visiting or conducting worship at their shrines. As a matter of fact, they have no case against the Hindu devotees coming to a Buddhist shrine for worship. Their shrines remain open to all for worship, without any distinction of caste and creed. The inscription of Keśava, engraved during the reign of Dharmapāla, clearly proves that the Buddhists were liberal and tolerant enough even to allow a Hindu to instal a figure of his deities, Śiva and Brahmā, in their temple at Bodh-Gayā (Dharmeśa-āyatane) for the benefit of the resident Śaivite Brahmins. Even while the Buddhist sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā were yet under the direct supervision of the Singhalese community of monks (Siṅghala-saṅgha), Aśokavalla, the last known Buddhist king of India who made structural additions in the sacred area of the Bodh-Gayā temple, did not hesitate to engage an erudite Brahmin scholar and poet to compose the text of the votive record and royal panegyric in commemoration of his pious deed. Though avowedly a Buddhist king who toiled like 'a bee on the pollen of the lotus-feet of Jinendra' (*Jinendra-charaṇāravinda-makaranda-madhukara*),[1] Aśokavalla rebuilt in his dominion a fallen temple of Śiva and considered it to be an act worthy of great men, thereby upholding the ancient tradition of the Buddhist king Aśoka of Magadha and the Jaina king Khāravela of Kaliṅga, particularly that of the latter represented as 'a repairer of all temples of the gods (*savadevāyatana-saṃkāra-kāraka*). Read the votive record and eulogy of Aśokavalla composed for him by the erudite Brahmin scholar and poet in a great hurry (*praśastiṃ drutataram akarot*)[2]

[1] *IA*, Vol. X, An Inscription at Gayā, p. 344.
[2] *IA*, Vol. X, p. 346.

and you will be at once convinced of the folly of the unwise step on the part of the Buddhist king to allow the Brahmin composer a free hand in the matter. The inevitable result has been that he has produced a Buddhist record written entirely in his own style and unlike all other known records of the Buddhists in tone and effect :

Oṃ namo Buddhāya, namo dharmāya śarmaṇe, namaḥ
Saṅghāya siṃhāya laṅghanāya bhavāṃbudheḥ.

"Obeisance to Buddha—the pure! obeisance to Dharma the bliss! obeisance to the Saṅgha—the lion! for the crossing of the world-ocean."

Such would never have been the precise wording of the invocation, if the document had been composed by a person imbued with Buddhist tradition. And what is worse, in going to describe the daily worship of the Buddha in the temple at Bodh-Gayā in the light of that of some of the Brahmanical deities in a Hindu temple, he has unknowingly suggested reflection on the character of the whole of Buddhism of his age :

Pūjāḥ pūjyatamasya pañchamagatair=bbādyais—
trisandhyaṃ sadā Rambhā-sannibha—
Bhāvinibhir abhito Cheṭibhir (a)tyadbhutaṃ
Nṛityantibhir anaṅga-laṅgima-gatair=ggitā-
dir aṅgair imā yasmāt santi hi
śāsane bhagavataḥ satkāra- visphāritaḥ.

" Since in the religion of Bhagavat, worship is here offered to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key together with Rambhā-like Bhāvinis and Cheṭis dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Anaṅga (Kāma)-(worship) increased by hospitable entertainments."[1]

[4] *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 345-346.
[5] Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, I. 16.
[1] *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 342-344.

How a thoughtless poetical description like this, taken uncritically, may mislead its reader will be evident from the following comment of a scholar like Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji :—

"Bhāvinis are the dancing and singing girls attached to temples. Cheṭis are maid-servants belonging to temples who perform certain menial services as well as join with the Bhāvinis in singing. Such women are still employed in the Brahmanical temples of Southern and Eastern India. They are of very loose morals; and their employment in Buddhist temples of the 12th century is an indication of its corruption."[1]

If the worship of the Buddha-image and the Bo-tree be left entirely in the hands of the Hindus, it is likely to be utilised to the end of time for the sordid business of releasing the disembodied spirits from a state of woe or obtaining an easy passport to heavenly worlds. It can never be expected to cast off the fear of the ghosts and consciously rise up to the sublimity of Buddhist feeling of pure joy of merit and delight in making a free offering of that joy to the parents, to begin with, to the teachers and preceptors, nay, for the uplift of all sentient beings.[2] A Hindu pilgrim can never be expected, we dare say, to cherish the *Bodhimaṇḍa* as the very centre of the cultured universe, or to be actuated by that earnest longing for the holy sight, or to be prepared to undertake a long and perilous journey through 'dust and desert,' or to be so devoutly inspired by the holy sight as to give a felicitous expression to his feelings in the manner of Chinese pilgrims.

Whatever be the present legal position of the Śaiva Mahanth or the historian's verdict in his favour, so long as the name Mahābodhi or Bodh-Gayā designates the sacred site, it is humanly impossible to deny that the great shrine belongs

[1] *IA*, Vol. X, p. 344, fn.

[2] The sentiment has found expression in the Buddhist votive records in such a phraseology as :

Yad atra puṇyam tad bhavatvāchāryopādhyāya-mātāpitṛi-pūrvaṅgamaṃ kṛitvā sakala-sattva rāśer anuttara-jñāna-phalvāptayu iti.

to the Buddhists. From a purely human point of view, the Mahanth appears guilty of these two charges: (1) that by setting up a bug-bear of legal ownership he has unnecessarily checked a free and spontaneous expression of Buddhist religious feeling and piety which is so essential for the resuscitation of the lost glory of the place ; and (2) that by his callous apathy towards the shrine he has deviated from the ancient tradition of generosity and by enforcing the Hindu mode of worship and wounding the religious susceptibilities of millions of people he has deliberately acted contrary to the noble principle of Hindu toleration. He is not only unsympathetic but anti-pathetic. If his ownership be a nominal one, he should frankly speak it out, and if a real one, he should try to justify it by effecting a palpable improvement of things in and out. Not to speak it out is to be guilty of hypocrisy, and not to justify it is to be guilty of culpable neglect of duty amounting to irreligion. The onus of proof lies upon him and him alone. At all events, the Hindu verdict in the story of the curse of Brahmā, as we find it in the Gayā-māhātmya, is that the Brahmins of Gayā had not done the right thing to go out of their jurisdiction and conduct the worship of the Buddha at Bodh-Gayā, lured by lucre.

B. M. Barua

TWO MOODS

From white-hot sky the brazen sun glares down,
Searing with fiery breath the drooping palms,
The dusty grass that lies so motionless,
And silencing the song-birds with a frown.
We hate the endless hours of tropic sun,
Long sullen hours that creep on laggard feet,
Until at last the grateful shadows fall
Across our compound walls, and day is done.
The shouting song of day flamed like a fire,
Cleaving its way through skies triumphantly
To end in one brief cadence-colourful,
Vanquished and pale on sunset's funeral-pyre.
Then evening sings her muted melodies
In minor harmonies that soothe and bless;
The full moon rises, like a silver globe
To hang in the branches of crested trees.
And we, forgetting all the ills of day,
Yield to the spell of moon-enchanted night,
And drink the beauty from her dreaming hours,
Thinking how sweet were life if dreams could stay!

LILY S. ANDERSON

A BRIEF SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN RUSSIA FROM 1861 TO 1920

I.

Even in 1861 when all other European countries had emancipated the serfs, serfdom was the basis of Russian agriculture.

Nearly the entire arable land was owned by the Crown and the Royal princes and by the one hundred and forty thousand families of the Nobility. The estates generally were large and were cultivated by about 50,000,000, serfs. The measure of a nobleman's wealth was neither his income in Roubles, nor the land he owned but the number of serfs he possessed.

The Nobility were the legal proprietors of the land. The estate of a nobleman was divided into two parts. One part was assigned to the serfs, belonging to him, who enjoyed the fruits thereof on payment of a fixed sum. The other part was reserved by the owner for his own enjoyment and the serfs belonging to him were under the liability of cultivating it under their master's supervision. The produce of this part went solely to the master's and the produce of the serf's part went solely to the serfs.

The serfs lived in village-communities and to these village-communities called 'Mirs' belonged the right of distribution of the land to individual peasants. The Mir regulated the cultivation of their soil and settled all questions in connection with it and the Mir was responsible for the payment of the Lords' dues. The right of use of the soil thus belonged collectively to the Mir.

The serfs were the property of the landlord and could be sent by them to Siberia for refractory behaviour. They could not go to towns to follow more lucrative professions without the

consent of the landlord; and this consent was given only on high periodical payments called 'Obroc.' Even then they were always in danger of being recalled by their masters and compelled to return to the old dependent position. A series of legislation since the days of Peter the Great sought to ameliorate the condition of the serfs. Peter permitted the domestic serfs to enter the army even without the consent of their masters; and those who gained a certain sum in trade might enroll themselves as inhabitants of town, without their masters' consent. In the reign of Catherine attempts were made to define the liabilities of the peasants, their right to marry at pleasure and the punishment of their masters for cruelties inflicted upon them. But notwithstanding all efforts, the serfs remained in a state of bondage. But in 1861 the serfs could not be sold apart from their land and when the land was sold they also passed on to the new master. Further the liability of the serfs to work up the Lord's land was defined and limited to three days a week.

Besides these cultivating serfs, there was another class of serfs who were attached to the household of the landlord. They did them personal and domostic services. They were also the property of the Lords but no land was assigned to them.

There were about 23,000,000 serfs on the Crown domains, about the same number on the estates of the Nobility and over three millions in domestic service.

It was to end such a state of things that Alexander II, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russians issued the Edict of Emancipation in 1861 and this Edict gave him the popular name of the Czar Liberator.

II.

The domestic serfs were simply declared free and they went to swell the town proletariate. But if the freedom of the peasant serfs were to be made real they must be granted land to live

upon. If the declaration of their freedom simply cut them off from the Nobility and therefore from the land, their dependence on the Nobility would remain as before. Hence a scheme was drawn up according to which the total land fund was divided into two parts. One part was to go to the peasants and the other to remain with the Nobility. The serfs were thus turned into proprietors. Their right of use was turned into a right of ownership.

The land was distributed among the peasants, on condition that they would pay compensation to the landlords. The State issued bonds to the latter to the full value of the compensation due from the peasants who were to pay the amount in forty-nine instalments. The redemption was not to begin at once. Peasants were permitted to enter into temporary terms with the landlords during which they were to pay rents and remain in a state of partial dependence.

The limits to the size of each holding were defined. They varied in each locality with reference to the size of the plot held by the peasants while serfs. A maximum and a minimum were prescribed and when the land held by a peasant exceeded the maximum the excess was taken by the landlord. But if the holding fell short of the minimum, the deficiency was to be made up from the estates of the Nobility. The Edict recognised also a special type of holding called a 'beggarly' or 'gratuitious' holding, the size of which was not to be less than a quarter of the maximum holding. The gratuitious holding was a matter of voluntary arrangement between the landlord and the peasants and it closed all mutual relation between them. In it the peasant was not to pay any redemption charges but he was to surrender to the landlords the excess of his holding over a quarter of the maximum holding prescribed for the locality.

The land thus given to the peasants was the property not of the individual peasant but of the Mir. The Mir distributed the land among the various families. The Mir and not the

peasants individually was made responsible for the payment of the redemption charges to the treasury. The responsibility of the Mir meant that it tightened its control over the peasants. Whenever the Mir had reasons to believe that a piece of land was not adequately cultivated, a re-distribution of land followed. If any peasant was left without cattle or means of cultivation, and became hopelessly involved in debt, his land was taken from him and given to some one else. At an early stage in central and eastern Russia, there arose from this cause a large number of landless peasants.

III.

To sum up the whole change of position, the peasants became free from all former obligations to the landlords and obtained proprietary rights in their land to which they formerly had merely the right of use. For this they lost a part of the land they used formerly and had to pay a redemption charge extending over forty-nine years. Moreover they were placed under the strict supervision of the Mir.

To the peasants the former right of use was as good as a right of property. They did not care for legalism so long as they could enjoy the produce of the land unmolested. The change to their advantage was merely formal but the price paid for it was most material. "We belong to the masters but the land belongs to us"—that was the creed of the peasants. They were freed from their masters but a considerable portion of their land was taken off from them. They looked upon this as sheer robbery. Their freedom again was not unconditional. They were freed from their former masters only to be made subservient to the Mir. Thus their freedom was not won, though they lost a considerable portion of their land ; and the burden of taxation increased heavily. All that they gained for this was a change in the pages of the law-books of the land. No wonder that the economic results of the emancipation were not commen-

surate with the enthusiasm displayed and the expectation made at the time.

Instead of improving the economic condition of the peasants, the emancipation made their lot still harder. The old ill-defined rights as to grazing cattle on the landlords' pasture and collecting wood from the landlords' forests were lost. Space had to be provided now for these purposes from their own share of the land, already reduced by any excess over the prescribed minimum. In this latter way from one-third to one-half of the land formerly occupied by the peasants passed on to the landlords. The provision of pasture and forests absorbed at least one-third of the residue.

Their possession was reduced, but the burden they had to bear increased. The redemption was not calculated on the value of the allotments of land but was considered as a compensation for the loss of the compulsory labour of the serfs; so that throughout Russia with the exception of a few provinces in the S. E., it was—and still remains, notwithstanding a great increase in the value of the land—much higher than the market value of the allotment.

Moreover the landlords craftily continued to deprive the peasantry of those parts of land which were urgently needed by them. Thus sites by the side of a river were essential for a village and these were kept in possession by the landlords so that the peasants were compelled to rent them at any price.

The habit of serfdom was too old and too deeply rooted to be immediately cast aside. The money dues and taxes seemed more burdensome than the labour dues. The pecuniary help in time of need by the landlord was missed at every step. The condition of the peasants was not at all enviable. They often proved "lazy, careless, drunken and dishonest."

The landlords, too, suffered greatly by being deprived of the services of the serfs. Those of them who ill-employed their redemption money were soon bankrupt and went to swell the educated proletariat of the local town. But the careful and

energetic proprietor was rather better off. The effect of the emancipation of the landlords was wittily summarised by one of the nobles thus : "Before the emancipation we drank Champagne and kept no accounts ; since the emancipation we keep accounts and drink Beer."

IV.

Then begins a story of continuous and systematic decay of the Russian peasantry.

The population increased rapidly and the already reduced holdings of the peasants were whittled down into mere fragments. The cause of the fragmentation has been thus described : In 1860, 4·8% decrease on the average, in 1880, 3·5% and in 1900, 2·6% on the average. Land hunger increased rapidly among peasants and rents went up by leaps and bounds.

These fragmentary holdings were again scattered in strips over a long area. The land of a village community lay seldom in a compact block. Intermixture of village land was a common phenomenon. "The blocks of land belonging to the same community were again subdivided into strips, which were sometimes two to three yards broad and some hundred yards long. Each household held a certain number of strips 20-30-50, sometimes even 100-150." One of the results of such intermixture of plots was that the same system of cultivation was followed everywhere.

Such fragmentary and scattered holdings in themselves, shut out intensive capitalistic cultivation. But to this was added the village systems and periodical redistribution of land. This uncertainty as to the tenure of land meant that no cultivator invested much capital in it. Careless cultivation followed and the state of cultivation degenerated from bad to worse. "In 27 provinces the average value of the gross produce of one dessiatina of peasants' land was 8r. and 99k.; while the average cost of production per Des. was 5r. 22k.; so that the net produce per.

Des. amounted only to 3r. 77k." In terms of our own unit the turnout of an acre of land amounted only to a little over a rupee and a half.

To complete the ruin of the peasantry there was a heavy taxation of poverty, "the Agricultural commission of 1872 found that the Squires had to spend on taxes less than 14·5 kopecks per Des., while peasants paid more than 95·5k. per Des. In addition the peasants had to pay the poll tax the amount of which was about 4r. 45k. per soul. The same commission states that in 37 provinces the taxes and redemption payments of the peasants comprised 92·75 per cent. of their net income from land.

A very characteristic symptom of the decay of the peasantry is the fall in the number of horses and an increase in the number of horseless households. "A comparison of the figures of the horse statistics in 1888 and 1893-94 shows that in 31 provinces the number of horses had fallen by 10·88 per cent. The number of horseless housesolds had increased during the same period in 23 provinces of Central Russia from 21·56 per cent. to 26·85 per cent. More than 25 per cent. of the households have no horses at all, another 25 per cent. have only one horse each."

"Assuming that 19 poods of corn per head are the minimum necessary during one year and that 7·5 poods are sufficient for fodder, Mr. Maress calculated that 70·7 per cent. of the peasant population had less than 19 poods per head, 20·4 per cent. had between 19 and 26·5 poods per head."

This is, in brief, the miserably poor story of the Russian peasants after 1861. Much was expected of the emancipation but it only led to crushing poverty. With their holdings whittled down into fragments and subject to periodical redistribution, the peasants could raise from their land only about a rupee and a half per acre, 92·7 per cent. of which had to be paid away in taxes. They lived in dark, dingy rooms, without chimney, with little space to move freely. Diseases were common. Families were large and death rate high. Infants were ill-nourished and many died before reaching manhood. Meat, bacon, oil, butter

appeared on the peasants' table only on exceptional occasions; the ordinary fare consisted of bread, porridge, kvass, cabbage and onion ; and even this ordinary fare was beyond the means of the vast majority and 70·7% were left without the minimum necessary for bare existence. No wonder that the soldiers said to their leader Afanassiev when he was leading them during the Japanese war through the rich estates of the Squires, "Where do you lead us?"

—"To Japan."
—"What for?"
—"To defend our country."

—"What is that country? We have been through the estates of the Lissetskys, the Besulovs, the Padkopailoves ..... Where is our land? Nothing here belongs to us."

V.

The defeat in the Japanese war was followed in Russia by an uprise among the peasants. This at once compelled the attention of the Government towards agricultural reforms.

It was soon realised that an essential condition of improvement of the peasants' lot was an improvement in the methods of cultivation, which demanded, first, an increase in the size of the holding and secondly fixity of tenure.

An increase in the size of the holding was attempted, first, by emigration and, secondly, by new distribution from the estates of the Squires and the domain of the Crown.

The emigration law of 1889 had subjected emigration to strict official control. The emigrants had to pay their own expenses; they had to satisfy the Government that they had funds enough to construct a dwelling in the new locality and also that their departure would not harm the community in any way. They could be stopped if the local authorities certified

that they could find work in their home. These stringent provisions were removed and Government assistance was extented to emigrants. But the results did not prove much encouraging.

Again, not much was to be expected from new distribution of land from the estates of the Squires and the domain of the Crown. In 1906, the distribution of land among the different kinds of owners was as follows :—

Crown land	133,038,883 Des.
Peasants' holdings	119,067,754 Des.
Land bought by communities and associations of peasants	11,142,560 Des.
Land bought by individual peasants	12,944,154 Des.
Land of the gentry	49,287,886 Des.
Land owned by other classes	22,664,493 Des.
Land owned by various institutions	6,985,893 Des.

The large area of the Crown land was mainly forest area or lay in the northern or eastern provinces and therefore not tillable. The area of convenient Crown land was only 3,700,000 Des. The addition of other exploitable sources might increase the area up to 45,000,000 Des. But a distribution of these forty-five million dessiatinas among the peasants would raise the size of each peasant's holding by even less than one Des. The insufficiency of the source becomes all the more evident when we remember that about 85 per cent. of the Crown land and a considerable part of the Squire's land were already leased by the peasants.

Stolypin, who was the chief minister in the third Duma, turned his attention to land reforms. The manifesto of Nov.

3, 1905, suspended all redemption payments after Jan. 1, 1906. Then he turned his attention to a complete reconstruction of relations inside the village—the creation of separate holdings and the spread of individual ownership.

In 1861, the legal sanction of the customary commune was considered essential to secure the return of the money advanced by the State for redemption. The land belonged not to individual peasants but to the commune which was responsible for payment to the treasury. The individual's interest in the plot he cultivated was only temporary as the total land fund of the commune was subject to occasional redistribution. This communal system was rather tightened in 1893 by Alexander III who looked upon it as a national safeguard. The statistics of land-ownership in 1905 showed that 23.2 per cent. of the households and 17 per cent. of the land owned by the peasants were held by private tenure; 76·8 per cent. of the farms and 82·7 per cent. of the peasants' land were in communal tenure.

The imperial *Ukase* of Nov. 9, 1906, the Land Law of June 14, 1910, and the agricultural law of May 29, 1911, had for their objects the abolition of communal tenure.

A simple majority of the village meeting could demand the conversion of the village land into private holdings. The land had to be assigned to each claimant, if possible, in a compact block and the formation of compact blocks could not be refused if it was demanded by at least one-fifth of the householders. All the communities in which there was no redistribution since 1861, were simply declared to have passed from communal tenure to individual or household ownership. A land commission was created by the *Ukase* of March 4, 1906, and was charged with the redistribution of land according to the new scheme. The motive underlying the new scheme was that labour and capital are applied to the best advantage under conditions of private ownership.

VI.

"Before Jan. 1, 1913, the commission had arranged farms on an area of 7,413,064 Des., held by 585,571 households, yet most of those who asked for separation held only a small plot and belonged to the poorer peasantry." Even with Government assistance these poor peasants could not meet the ordinary capital outlay of starting a new farm. Further the commission had to leave many communes undisturbed as conditions were unfavourable for separate farms in many localities.

One more great attempt was now made towards solving the agrarian problem of Russia since 1861, but did it achieve its purpose? Did it improve the lot of the agriculturists? Far from pacifying the peasants, it only increased the fermentation in the villages and rather paved the way for a great upheaval. The holdings of the peasants remained as fragmentary as ever; their poverty was still crushing. They were economically helpless. The communes were abolished; but the abolition could not achieve its purpose. The economic problem was not solved but the traditional feeling of respect of the people towards communal tenure was wounded. Communal tenure, they believed, meant justice and they accused Government of sacrificing justice to productivity. Productivity, again could not be increased in the face of the economic helplessness of the peasants and the fragmentary size of their holdings. One causes of under-productivity was of course removed but other cause which was as strong remained. The resultant effect of the abolition was only to increase the discontent in the villages.

This is inevitable in a backward agricultural country. Patchwork cannot arrest the inevitable destiny of such a country. 85 per cent. of the Russians depend for their living on land. The method of cultivation are primitive and land soon shows signs of diminishing returns. Population increases fast in such a country. No easy outlet exists for the people

towards industries which show interesting returns. Continuous reduction of standard of living, high birth rate, high death rate, and extreme poverty—these would follow one another in regular sequence. Two patchworks were attempted—one in 1861, and the second during 1906-11. They only increased the rage of the peasantry without any improvement in their economic condition.

(To be continued.)

BINOY BHUSAN DAS GUPTA.

LOVE'S GAME

Behind the silence you
Are playing hide and seek ;
When I lie faint and weak
Your flute-voice calls anew :
Along life's courses I pursue
O Love, my Love, your call and you !

Behind the sunset glow
You oft-times veil your face ;
And when joy-drunk I race
Along the winds that blow,
Your moon-face rises eastward lo !—
And I return—gloom-fettered, slow !

Behind the dawn so pale
You laugh and bid me come ;
Earth wakes in sudden hum,
By every courier gale
Your name is whispered : love's sweet ,talew
To seek, to find, and ever fail !

CYRIL MODAK

THE BEGINNINGS OF BENGALI PROSE

It is a very curious and peculiar literary coincidence that in most of the civilised countries of the world which can boast of an ancient and well-developed literature, Prose came into existence later than Poetry. The reason must be sought in the common tendency of the human mind everywhere for embellishment and ornamentation. Moreover perhaps in all earlier literatures, the writers thought that poetry was a better and more suitable vehicle for expression of the finer sentiments and feelings of mankind than prose which was the language of everyday life. There being again no means of preserving the literary compositions, it was deemed useful to write in verse as that would enable the audience to commit the pieces to memory and in that way help the verses to be transmitted to future generations.

The earliest specimens of Hindu literature are the hymns of the Rig Veda which were invocative verses to various deities. In Greece also the earliest preserved literature is the cycle of Homeric poems which were sung in accompaniment to the lyre. In England, not till the best Anglo-Saxon poems had been composed, could prose make any headway and when it was done it was mostly translation of Latin work.[1] An English critic says, " When the Angles gathered round the fire at night, each was expected to sing a poem. Caedmon, the stableman, who knew no songs, slunk away in shame. Of course, not every farm-labourer composed immortal verse—only the great bards could do that—but even farm-labourers were expected to remember long poems, most could fill up with original matter any gaps in their memory, and many could turn a tale or a

1 Taine writes : " We meet with the venerable Bede, and later on, Alcuin, John Scotus Erigena, and some others, commentators, translators, teachers of barbarians, who tried not to originate but to compile, to pick out and explain from the great Greek and Latin encyclopedia something which might suit the men of their time."—*History of English Literature*, Vol. I, Bk. I, Ch. I.

sentiment into artistic form." [1] Another reason why the writing of prose was not much in practice was the custom of learned men indulging in the habit of composing their works in some classical language so that their works might receive the stamp of authority and weight. Sir John Mandeville, Bacon, Milton, Newton wrote many of their famous works in Latin. In Europe the vernacular literatures had to wait for many centuries before any tangible progress could be achieved. In India, Sanskrit was regarded as the language of the gods and in Sanskrit dramas, only high personages speak in that tongue, while the minor, less important and inferior characters speak in some corrupt form. All the scholarly works were in Sanskrit. Therefore for a long time even after poems had begun to be written in vernacular, no necessity was felt for prose. The learned men could read the originals and therefore translations were not required. But it cannot be said that prose was entirely unknown. Fragments of older Bengali literature are found in which prose was used as a mode of expression.

The oldest specimen of Bengali prose is found in "Sunya Purāna," a work belonging to the Buddhist period in Bengali literature and of the 10th century A.D.[2] Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen translates some lines as follows :

"Who is the scholar in the Western Gate? Cvetai with four hnndred followers. Chandra the Police Officer.....the messenger is not afraid of thee. Chitra Gupta keeps a register."[3]

Although to the modern Bengali reader these do not exactly seem what old English would sound to the modern Englishman, yet the example is of such rudimentary nature that no high value can be attached to it. It, of course, sufficiently illustrates that older Bengali writers could express themselves in prose, though one cannot say that their attempts were quite successful.

[1] A Primer of Literary Criticism by G. E. Hollingworth, pp. 3-4.
[2] Calcutta Review, August, 1924, p. 361.
[3] D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 833.

Chandidas left a small treatise in prose dealing with some of the forms of Tantric worship named "Chaitya Rupa Prapti." Rupa Goswami, who was one of the favourite companions of Sri Chaitanya Deva wrote a small work in prose, "Karika," on Vaishnava theology. Works like Krishna Das Kaviraja's "Ragamayi Kana" contain stray passages in prose. Another minor work, "Deha Karacha" furnishes sentences which are fully expressive. Prose and poetry were combined in many of the works of the Sahajiya cult. Some of these were exclusively written in prose.[1] Some works on Smṛiti written in prose were discovered by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri. Works on genealogy and medicine were elaborately written in prose.[2] "Bhasa Parichemada," a work on Logic and Hindu Law adopted prose for the elucidation of highly metaphysical subjects. "Brindaban Lila" (a hundred and fifty years old MS. of which has been collected by Dr. D. C. Sen) uses a very simple and unadorned prose style. In a poetical romance of the 18th century, "Kamini Kumar," by Kali Krishna Das there is a passage of simple prose. But the main faults of prose style were the excessive use of alliteration and the adoption of a kind of refrain. The letter that Maharajah Nund Kumar wrote in August, 1756 to his brother Radha Krishna Roy was written in a mixed kind of language composed of Sanskrit and Urdu words. Halhead regretted in the preface to his Bengali Grammar (1778) that pure Indian verbs were mixed with the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns.

But the real beginnings of Bengali prose were made in the first quarter of the 19th century. In this connection several important facts have to be taken into consideration. These are the settlement of Europeans in Bengal, the activities of the Christian missionaries like Carey and the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta.

1 Most of the manuscripts belong to the 10th and the 11th century A.D.

2 D. C. Sen, Chap. VI of History of Bengali Language and Literature.

The Portuguese were the first among the nations of Europe to settle in Bengal and they left a mark on the language of the land. Many words of the Portuguese language have found a place in Bengali vocabulary.[1] Although some of the Portuguese missionaries translated some Christian religious tracts into Bengali, from the literary point of view they were no valuable productions. It is, however, significant that the Portuguese were the pioneers to attempt at regular publication of Bengali works, though these were in Roman script. The first Bengali Grammar and Dictionary by Manoel da Assumpcao, a Portuguese missionary, was published from Lisbon in 1743.[2]

Of the Europeans who came in the service of the East India Company, N. B. Halhead (1751-1830), Sir Charles Wilkins (1749?-1836), H. P. Forster (1766?-1815) render considerable service to Bengali prose, The history of Bengali printing must always remain associated with the name of Sir Charles Wilkins. He was the first European to study Sanskrit inscriptions and the first Englishman to gain a thorough grasp of the Sanskrit language. In 1778 he set up a printing machine at Hughly and Halhead's Grammar was issued from this press. Halhead "was so well acquainted with the language as sometimes to pass in disguise as a Native." Forster brought out a Bengali Dictionary, "English and Bengalee Vocabulary" in two volumes. He was like Halhead a good Bengali scholar.

Another important foreign force destined to have influence on the intellectual and social life of the people of Bengal was the Serampore Mission headed by William Carey (1761-1834). Coming to Calcutta in 1793, his early attempts to settle down proved abortive as the Government was not favourably disposed to the missionaries.[3] During the first six years of his residence in Bengal, Carey studied Bengali and Sanskrit

1 Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal.

2 Encyclopaedia Brit., p. 735, Vol. III (11th edn.); The First Three Type-printed Bengali Books—Bengal : Past and Present, Vols. IX (1914) and XIII (1916).

3 J. H. Morrison, Life of William Carey, pp. 53, 129-30, 137-40.

with great diligence. In 1799, he was joined by four others from England. They proceeded to Serampore which was then a Danish possession. From 1800 these missionaries incessantly laboured from their Serampore settlement for the propagation of the Christian Gospel. Here Carey set up a press and began to publish Bengali translations of the Bible. But unlike the English versions of the Bible, these translations exercised little influence, inspite of the directness and simplicity of the style. The English Bible served as a model to many of the greatest English writers of prose—"the school and training ground of every man and woman of English speech in the noblest uses of English tongue."[1] But the Bengali Bibles seem strange and alien, unnatural and foreign.[2] The Gospel, though it might have been useful in making converts to Christianity could not offer any model of style for subsequent writers.

Of the members of the Serampore Mission, John Clark Marshman (1794-1877) contributed works on non-literary subjects, specially history and his work were not original in themselves. The Dictionary of National Biography credits him with the starting of the first Bengali paper.[3] But that honour belongs to a Bengali himself. Carey's son, Felix, was a scholar in several Indian languages. He translated into Bengali, Goldsmith's History of England, the Vicar of Wakefield, Mill's History of India, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and the chapter on Anatomy ("Videa Haravali" from the 5th edition of the Enc. Brit. John Mack (1797-1845) who was for 16 years a Professor at Serampore (founded in 1821) wrote a treatise on Chemistry ("Kimya Videa Sar"), "designed to have been the first of a series of treatise in Bengali on scientific subjects."

Rev. John Long in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works containing a Classified List of Fourteen Hundred Bengali Books and Pamphlets," which was published in 1855 has amply

1 Saintsbury, History of Elizabethan Literature, p. 215.

2 Sushil Kumar De, History of Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, p. 115.

3 Concise Dictionary of National Biography, p. 846.

dealt with works by both European and Bengali authors. These were on various subjects—Mathematics, Lexicons, Ethics and Moral tales, Geography, Grammar, History, Biography, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Poetry and Drama, Popular Songs, Tales, and Religion, etc. A large number of these works were written in prose. This catalogue is a sure evidence that there was a regular literary activity in those days and the Bengalis themselves were not idle.

The Fort William College which has been spoken of as "the seminary of Western learning in an Eastern dress" was founded in 1800 by the East India Company for the training of the probationers in the Company's service. To the teachers of the Fort William College Bengali literature and specially Bengali prose owes a great deal. These men were the initiators of prose style and path-finders for the army of writers that came later on. William Carey joined this College in 1801 as teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit, became Professor afterwards and remained a prominent figure here till 1831. Under his guidance, during twenty-five years, a large number of Bengali works were published for the study of the young Civilians. But such works were not inspired by any genuine literary impulse.

Of the Pundits of the Fort William College, Ram Ram Basu, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Chandi Charan Munshi, Rajib Lochan Mukhopadhyay, Haraprasad Ray and Golaknath Sarma achieved distinction as writers in Bengali. From the point of view of language they afford an interesting study. Ram Ram Basu's "Life of Pratapaditya" (1800) is half-Bengali and half-Persian in style. Rajib Lochan's "Maharaj Krishna Chandra Charita" (1811) was written in the older Bengali style. He used Persian words rather sparingly. Mrityunjay's "Prabodh Chandrika" is full of bombasts and compounds. The style of Ram Basu's Pratapaditya (as Rev. Long remarks) shewed how much the unjust ascendancy of the Persian language had in that day corrupted the Bengali. The same opinion holds good with regard to the same author's "Lipi Mala" (1802). Its style,

to quote Rev. Long again, shows how corrupted by Persian the Bengali was then.

Among the Bengalis, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, Akshay Kumar Dutt, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had active shares in the development of prose. Ram Mohan wrote all his controversial tracts in the essay form. Devendra Nath was instrumental in disseminating many cultured and liberal ideas through the "Tattwa Bodhini Patrika," of which Akshay Kumar was for a long time the editor. Both Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar wrote in a rather florid style. Besides these men, there were others like Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813-1895) and Rajendra Lal Mitra (1824-1891), who deserve special mention. Under the patronage of Lord Hardinge, Krishna Mohan began in 1846 to write a Bengali Encyclopedia, "Vidya Kalpa Druma" thirteen volumes of which were published. Krishna Mohan's work was mere compilation and did not show any spirit of original research. Rajendra Lal's "Vividartha Sangraha" (1851) was started on the model of the London Penny Magazine and in its day it had an immense popularity of which Rabindranath has in his "Reminiscences" given an adequate idea.[1]

But as yet there was no style which was at the same time elegant and learned. Correct prose composition there was, but elegant and easy-flowing prose had to wait for men who had been steeped in the study of English literature and who introduced some of the best elements of English prose into Bengali—naturalness of expression, simplicity, clearness, avoidance of conceits, conciseness, and directness of appeal.[2] At the beginning of the 19th century, no less than four types of Bengali style were in vogue—the pedantic language of the Pundits with every tendency to Sanskritisation, the language of the Court—a

1 Rabindranath Tagore, Reminiscences, pp. 113-14.

2 In this connection it is worth while noting R. L. Stevenson's opinion on "style" in "*Essays in the Art of Writing*," pp. 42-43.

kind of half-Bengali and half-Persian, the language of the common people and the language of the European writers, who mixed up the style of the Pundits with the colloquialisms of the ordinary people.[1] Bengali writers who came in the immediate wake of the European writers followed the style of the latter. About the middle of the last century the choice lay between the ornate and scholarly style of Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar and the plain or "Alali" style of Tekchand Thakur and Hutum, whose language was as natural as every-day talk. The purely literary prose was the creation of a master-genius, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who accomplished that task by blending the two styles referred to above and retaining and combining the best elements of the two. In his hands Bengali prose became perfect in diction and since his time Bengali has attained such an eminence that it is now perhaps the most flourishing literature in India and can fairly compete with some of the modern literatures of the West.

JAYANTAKUMAR DASGUPTA

[1] Dr. S. K. De has fully discussed these styles in Chap. VIII of his History.

LOVE

The heart-beats of the Universe but spell
The mystic name of Love;
The starry skies above
To man Love's mysteries in silence tell.
My heart has caught the universal beat,
Mine eyes the starry fire,
And my contrite desire
Is out on pilgrimage with Love to meet.

Presiding deity of life and death,
Each noble mind her throne;
Yet oft alone, alone
She sits in queenly state—to gasp for breath!
More oft in temple of some soul she stands
To watch a sacrifice,
In tears then in a trice
To consecrate it with her pierced hands.

And sometimes with the blood of her own heart
A hero's portrait paints,
In death-swoon ere he faints
She doth install it in her shrine of art.
Or sometimes while youth at her dust-stained feet
His life-oblation lays
With quivering smile she says
"I grant the boon you purpose to entreat!"

To failing hearts she lends a dauntless bliss
All unafraid to die:
Ah! yes, without a sigh
The Christ at her sweet call his Rood did kiss.

Her voice has called a Lazarus back to life;
And at her touch sublime
A Dante sang his rhyme;
Her royal presence quells the wildest strife.

Methinks, a million fairy flowers had flung
Their wealth to thrill the air:
But lo! a Presence fair
The flower of beauty standing flowers among
Said in soft whispers, "'Tis not perfumed dew,
It is my breath you breathe:
I'm Love, and I bequeath
My wealth to man!" I looked and saw—'twas You!

CYRIL MODAK

Reviews

The Power of India.—By Mrs. Michael Pym. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1930. Pages 316. Price $3 50.

In this work the author, an American journalist, who lived in India for several years and had the opportunity of mixing with British officials, Indian Princes and Indian people of all classes, shows an unusual understanding and appreciation of the real India—her religion, social system, art, music and culture. The author's style is charming; and her descriptive power fascinates one who wishes to visualise India in her sublime, delicate and gorgeous beauty. The interpretation of historical background of Indian culture with its spirit of toleration and spiritual outlook of life has been very cleverly and effectively presented through simple narratives. It is a penetrating study of India as a whole.

To the author, things political seem less important than the cultural and spiritual life of the people. However she recognises the fact that economics and politics, indirectly but very seriously, affect the cultural existence of a nation. Therefore she has been forced to discuss certain phases of Indian political and economic problems. It should be noted that the author went to India as a believer in British rule in India and its "sacred mission," but she had to change her views on the subject (page 30).

In the discussions of Indian political and economic problems, this book supplies much worthwhile, unbiased and authoritative information about the nature of British rule and British officials in India, Indian Native States and their rulers. From her wide experience and personal contacts, the author has come to the conclusion that British officials in India may be efficient in their routine work, in writing reports, but they are ignorant of India and her people and their needs. They invariably act with certain preconceived and false notions. While they talk much about protecting the people of India from misery and civil wars, they have no genuine interest in the real welfare of the country. They go there for careers and positions. Those among them who show any interest in Indian life and welfare, are classed as "cranks"; and they never get a chance to do something effective.

The author asserts that the average British official—member of Indian Civil Service, Army, Police, etc.—is not a man of culture and

breadth of vision. It is a pure myth that he is superior to the average Indian official. Of course there are honorable exceptions among British officials; for instance the author thinks that Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy of India, is a man of great spirituality and sincerity. His interest in the welfare of the Indian people, according to the author, is far more genuine than that of Gandhi (pp. 257-265).

The author proves conclusively and with documentary evidence that since the days of the East India Company, Great Britain has been following a policy of merciless exploitation of India which has led to the destruction of her fine arts, industry and national prosperity. The author points out that India used to export salt; but India's salt industry in the Native States were destroyed by British policy. " What seems, in view of everything, to add insult to injury, is that India consumes about two and half million tons of salt a year, and *while all these salt manufactories are shut down*, six hundred thousand tons of India's two and a half million have to be imported from Europe! " (p. 81).

The chapters dealing with the Indian Princes and their relations with the British Government, disclose certain facts which demonstrate that the British Government violated treaties, contracts and solemn agreements to annex territories and to exact cash from Indian Princes. She levels her attack on the officials of the Political Department of the Government of India, who " carry out almost iniquitous deeds from the point of view of ethics, without one small shudder " (p. 274). It is rather refreshing to read intimate and unchallengeable facts which prove that Indian administrators in the important states of Hyderabad, Mysore and others, inspite of serious limitations of freedom of action which is imposed by " British Paramountcy," have done more for education, sanitation and real welfare of the people than the British have done in British India.

The inner significance of British Paramountcy over Indian States is explained from the existing relations of Mysore, one of the major States of India, with the British Government. " Theoretically, Mysore is a major State ; actually the Maharaja can do very little without British sanction. Succession to the throne is regulated by the British ; the military organization of the State, its enlistment, equipment, etc., are fixed and directed by the British ; the telegraph is part of British system ; British laws and regulations instituted during the British jurisdiction must be continued. The Maharaja may not employ in his service any person not a native of India, except with express permission ; manufacturing salt and opium and the cultivation of the white poppy may be prohibited or limited by the British,

and any regulations they think fit regarding their export and import enforced; the ruler must, at all times, conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may give him with a view to the management of his finances, settlement, and collection of revenues, imposition of taxes, administration of justice, extension of commerce, or anything else connected with his administration." (p. 107). Because of these limitations over sovereignty, Indian nationalists justly class the Indian Princes as mere "puppets." Indian Princes also resent those limitations, confirmed by the reports of the Butler Commission and the Simon Commission.

It is rather interesting to note that the author, through her intimate social contacts with important personages in Indian States, foresaw long before the convening of the Round Table Conference on India, that Indian Princes will favour an All-India Federation to preserve their interests and to help unify India.

Equally interesting are the author's views on the subject of India's national defence. "The army in India is divided into a Field Army, organized for foreign service, in which the proportion of British troops is about one to three; *a Covering Army which is almost wholly Indian, to keep order on the Frontier*; and an Internal Security Force, really for the protection of the British in India, which is largely made up of British troops. *There are about seven thousand officers, and sixty-one thousand and five hundred British troops, the heaviest item of the military Budget. Analysed therefore, the British army in India does become an army of occupation.* When the Swarajists complain they are thinking of this. When the British talk about defence of the Frontier, as a motive for British occupation of India, Swarajists laugh sarcastically because they think that anyhow Indian troops are already taking care of that, *and all they need is more Indian officers.* Again, changes in this direction could not be achieved instantly. At present ten Indians [are permitted] a year pass through Sandhurst and receive King's Commissions. The Indian Sandhurst Committee under General Skeen unanimously recommended a scheme which would Indianize fifty per cent. of the officers somewhere around 1953, but no action has yet been taken on this. *No Indian serve as gunners in the Artillery, there are none in the Tank Corps, and no Indian units or training of any kind for Indians in the Air Force.* When the British suggest that India cannot defend herself, they are perfectly right. When the Swarajists swear at the British, and ask what the Internal Security Force is, if not an army of occupation, and whether the Field Army is to serve India or the Empire for foreign service, they are also perfectly right" (p. 293).

Her discussion on the intimate life of Indian women, derived from living in Indian homes, their influence in all progressive movements (social and political) are not only accurate but instructive. Some of the facts on these subjects will be revelations to many of the West who have no conception of true life of the Indian people. The author most effectively controverts some of the most mischievous statements of Miss Mayo made in her book "Mother India," regarding Indian women and Indian life.

The author shows considerable knowledge about the growth of the Indian Nationalist Movement and activities of Indian extremists. It is a pity that Mrs. Pym has made a false estimate of Mahatma Gandhi. During an interview, she was not at all impressed with him as a great spiritual leader. She regards him to be a politician who is anxious to have "power." She characterises Gandhi as "the ugly, little Tolstoyan poseur, self-conscious, shifty, destructive, unpleasantly unctuous, yet imposing himself as a sort of saint upon thousands of people in the West who don't know him, because he personifies the elements that made Christianity—at the expense of Christ" (p. 266). The author is free to record her own impression of Gandhi as she sees him; but one cannot but feel that she is prejudiced. Gandhi has at no time claimed to be a saint nor has he ever imposed his personality upon the Western people who do not know him. It is a fact that hundreds of Western people, including some British officials, who know him, have felt his spiritual power and have acclaimed him to be the greatest living religious teacher. Whatever may be the quality of the saintliness of Gandhi, there is not the least doubt that *he is the greatest man in the world to-day.* He is being followed by millions of Indians from all classes and religions. He has been able to rouse the masses of India to demand freedom for their country and to suffer for the achievement of this ideal. Even Gandhi's enemies cannot but recognise his greatness.

The author's analysis of the present unrest in India is interesting. It is not merely agitation for political freedom, but has a greater world significance. She writes :—"India is changing but that very change, one saw, unlike that of other countries, was not towards westernization *but to re-assertion of India-ness.* The conflict, I understood clearly enough, was one of ideals. Others had seen that too. Superficial observers termed it the conflict of Hinduism with—they dared no longer say, Christianity—with Western progress, Western enlightenment, Western ideals. But it was not Hinduism. These people were quite wrong. It was much stronger, something that has since the dawn of

history shaped, influenced, and even at times inspired, Hinduism, the early religions of Egypt, Buddhism, Eastern Christianity, even in some ways, Islam. It was that which produced so many great teachers, pointing the way to reality. '*That*' was flaming up again in India... India will win. Matter is always moulded by spirit. The immediate conflict is, you see now, of importance only in so far as it may create personal bitterness and fear between races. It will decide, perhaps in the next few years, whether India shall retain its immemorial role of interpreter between East and West, of cultural fountain for both East and West, or whether, in spite of itself, it is to be driven into the slowly forming alliance of East against West.....India will never be an aggressive political power except at the expense of all its traditions, all its spiritual force..... " (pp. 299-306).

In spite of a few minor inaccuracies of dates and facts about the Indian nationalist movement, the book is valuable. It gives rare insight into the true spirit of India in which lies the real power of India which is a living force. The book should be carefully studied by all, especially English and American peoples, who wish to understand India.

TARAKNATH DAS

Miscellany.—By Dhirendrakumar Mukherji, M.A., B.L., of the Bengal Civil Service. Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.

This is a collection of reprints of some articles written by the author, Mr. Mukherji, some twenty years ago and more, but the topics have still their interest. One-third of the volume is on Burdwan only, where the writer had spent some time, and the remaining portion is of general bearing. The article on *Id-duz-zoha* is extremely short and disappointing and it may be suggested that the essay in two parts, "The Social and Religious Outlook of the Day," should be incorporated into one with the article "The Religious Outlook of the Day," ignoring the original groupings. The language is simple, straightforward, vigorous, and there is a general sanity of view on life, as may be seen from the concluding sentences of the paper on "The Contemplative and Active Life."

P. S.

The Indian Pubic Debt—By D. L. Dubey, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster, Finance Member of the Government of India. Published by D. B. Taraporewala & Sons, Bombay, pp. 382.

It would have been more accurate and true to its contents if the book had been styled " War and Post-War Public Debt of India " or a suitable sub-title (1900-1930) has been added. Judged by the present title the reviewer expected that justice would have been done to the historical investigation of the subject for which materials exist only in the India Office in London.

Such a vital subject as the Public Debt ought to have been examined thoroughly and when the extremist national opinion rightly or wrongly inclined to the view, that a part of the national debt burden can be fastened on the shoulders of the British public, the author ought to have impartially examined this contention and have indicated how far a portion of unproductive debt might rightly be passed on to England. Even some of the English thinkers like Dr. E. Thompson incline to this view (see his articles in the *Spectator*).

Some points of serious omission for which the reviewer feels sorry is the extent to which outsiders *i.e.*, other than Britishers, are holding the foreign indebtedness items. An appeal to the Consular and Foreign Government Delegations in London might have enabled the author to gather this information.

Another point on which much information could have been collected is the flight of capital from the country. When and how India can be made a creditor country ought to have found a prominent place in the discussion of our national debt problem. He mentions this fact on page 99 but glosses over this without any further comment.

Another aspect of the Public Debt problem that has unfortunately been neglected is the possibility of raising, apart from the constitutional objection, the Dollar and the Franc loans at lower rates as Japan frequently does in the case of her large-scale capital requirements. Access to outside capital markets would necessarily have to be made by a Swaraj Government as the floating of loans in the London Market is becoming dearer than before.

If indeed it is only 7% of the Indian public debt that is unproductive and for which no corresponding assets do not exist (see p. 23) the Indian Government is essentially in the strongest financial position which no other country of the world possesses. Yet India is placing her loan issues at higher rates than other countries. Mere political distractions do not account wholly for this anomaly. Increasing competition is undoubtedly

one reason. In the analysis of the reasons for the higher rate of interest he refutes the oft-mentioned bogey, *viz.*, " fall in India's credit which is a " myth " according to the author.

Some reforms which have been suggested by the writer are undoubtedly long overdue as for instance, the management of the sterling debt by the Imperial Bank of India, the creation of a Joint Sinking Fund of a somewhat cumulative type, reduction of the Provincial debt by writing off 8·8 crores, consolidations of advances to the Provincial Governments at a low rate of interest as in the case of the Union of South Africa and the necessity of giving relief to Provinces for the necessity of paying high interest rates—are all important reforms on which there is consensus of opinion. The author has done substantial service in this respect and I hope that Dr. Dubey will make the book more interesting by filling the above gaps suggested in this review. Students as well as teachers would be grateful to Dr. Dubey for the numerous tables he has compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts and other authoritative blue books.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

A First Book of Economics.—By Norman Crump, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. St. Martin's Street, London. 1930, pp. 257.

Mr. Crump, who has obtained some distinction already as a lucid writer on monetary problems, has succeeded in packing an enormous amount of valuable material into these 250 pages. Consisting of 50 short chapters the whole field of economic problems is surveyed with easy lucidity and a wealth of illustration. The different problems of the complex organism of producers, distributors, merchants, shippers, bankers, and so on are carefully elucidated and he explains without prejudice or prejudgment, what they really mean and how these problems can be solved. The spirit in which the game of life is being played by the people and the rules which the economist would like to lay down concerning this game of life are carefully discussed in this book. Marvellously comprehensive it is worth the careful consideration of all students of economic problems.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Indian Cotton Textile Industry and other Essays.—By B. Govinda Rao, M.A.,B.L., with a foreword by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray. Pp. 152. 1930. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Clothing, food and shelter are the primordial needs of man. This monograph deals with the most important problem, *viz.*, clothing. Finding himself handicapped by the earlier publication of Mr. Gandhi the author wisely devoted his energies towards stating the fundamental issues of the present-day cotton industry. The history, rise, development and decline of this key industry are summarised from the excellent treatise of Mr. M. P. Gandhi in the first 74 pages of this monograph. The remaining pages are devoted towards a keen discussion on the Imperial preference proposals in the matter of the cotton mill industry. While deploring the inability of the Government to grant protection to the cotton mill industry he passionately appeals to the readers and the wider public to protect the khaddar and the mill industries buying the Swadeshi products—mill as well as hand-woven cotton fabrics. The booklet is distinctly helpful. The economic implications of the Japanese competition and the rationalisation of the cotton mill industry are carefully stated and considered. The charka would have to supplement the mill industry. As the author rightly says "as nearly as Rs. 40 crores are required to put up additional number of spindles and looms and about 400,000 labourers are to be recruited in new mills for the purpose of supplying cloths to the people under the existing circumstances, this expense and labour can be saved by turning the wheels and looms without much capital outlay and organisation." He pleads for the realisation of the economics of the home industry. Those who seek guidance in this matter of our cotton industry can hardly afford to ignore the facts and arguments which the author so ably presents.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Hydrostatics.—By D. K. Sen, M.Sc. Macmillan & Co. In the book before us a successful attempt has been made to teach the elementary principles of Hydrostatics. The book is specially suitable for Indian students. The get-up of the book is excellent and the examples given are well-chosen. There are about fifty examples worked out in full, illustrating the various artifices generally used in solving difficult problems.

We are glad to find that the author has not hesitated to make use of the methods of Calculus the adoption of which has enabled him to bring lengthy and tedious proofs within a small compass. The stability of equilibrium of floating bodies has been discussed here at a greater length than in any other elementary text-book. The book will greatly help candidates aspiring to honours in Mathematics and we hope it will soon find favour with this class of students.

M. M. GHOSH

Arithmetical Problem Papers—By E. M. Radford. Cambridge University Press. This small book consists of one hundred problem papers. Each paper contains seven examples covering the whole range of arithmetic, generally taught in our secondary schools. The examples are well chosen and are of a type superior to those usually met with in current text-books. Besides benefiting our school boys this book will greatly help the candidates appearing in competitive examinations. which require a sound knowledge of arithmetic.

M. M. GHOSH

The Personality of Mohammad the Prophet—By A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). Published by Luzac & Co. Price 1*s*.

The pamphlet comprises a speech delivered by the author in London on the occasion of the Muslim festival Id-ul-Azha on the 20th May, 1929. The author in short discourses dwells upon the personality of Muhammad the Prophet in its manifold aspects, specially as a moral and spiritual teacher. He has also dealt about his life, family position and the reform he introduced amongst the Arabs. The subject though treated on a small compass, has been ably discussed and is written in a simple and lucid style.

M. K. SHIRAZI

Ourselves

Professor Surendranath Sen.

We offer our hearty felicitations to Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., on his appointment as Asutosh Professor of Modern and Mediaeval History. An eminent scholar, a popular teacher and a gentleman possessing courage of his convictions he richly deserves this elevation. Dr. Sen's eminence is not confined to History alone—his articles on zoology, ornithology and literature and his various addresses to learned societies speak of a cultured mind with a wide outlook and varied attainments. Dr. Sen is a self-made man and his life serves as an outstanding example of what might be achieved by industry, diligence and the will to surmount difficulties.

* * *

A New Ph.D.

Mr. Sukumarranjan Dasgupta, M.A. has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis entitled "Indian Spherical Astronomy."

* * *

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1931

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION, ON 28TH FEBRUARY, 1931.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

At the outset it is my pleasant duty to offer to you my sincere congratulations upon your appointment as Vice-Chancellor of this University. There can be few posts in this Presidency which carry greater responsibility and which make greater demands upon the time and efforts of the individual than that of Vice-Chancellor. In view of the important positions which you hold in other directions, I can understand the hesitation to which you have referred in your speech to undertake the additional duties of Vice-Chancellor, but having once decided to accept the responsibility, I know there is no question that you will devote yourself unselfishly and whole-heartedly to the work and I wish you all success.

You are the first member of the community to which you belong to have attained this honour. Your appointment to this high position should be an encouragement to the Muhammadans in this Presidency to remedy that backwardness in educational status which is exemplified by the figures you quoted in your speech just now. Your honourable record, your industry and your cheerful personality should assure for you the respect of the students and your administrative experience and ability should

prove of value in the conduct of the affairs of this University. Whilst welcoming you to the Chair, I desire to tender to your predecessor, Dr. Urquhart, my personal appreciation of the great service he rendered to this University during his two years of office. He brought to bear upon the University life an exceptional educational experience. His scholarly attainments together with a sympathetic devotion to the interests of this University appealed to all and assured him of that support which enabled him to discharge his onerous duties with success and general advantage to the University. It was fitting that his services should be recognised by the conferment upon him of the honorary degree of Doctor of Law.

I listened to your excellent and instructive speech with much interest. In it you have presented an exhaustive review of the activities of the University during the past year. I shall, as far as possible, avoid traversing the ground which you have already gone over, but there are some matters in your speech to which it is necessary for me to refer.

I should wish to associate myself with your expressions of regret and sympathy at the loss, during the past year, of those eminent sons of Bengal and members of this University to which you have referred. The decision to confer honorary degrees upon Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Dr. Herambachandra Maitra and Dr. Bentley will, I feel sure, be received with general satisfaction and pleasure. It is my privilege to be personally acquainted with all of them and I feel that it would have been difficult to find any in our midst whose record of service in their own particular spheres could be regarded as more deserving of the honour. It was a source of special gratification to me to have the privilege of presenting to Sir Venkata Raman the Hughes Medal awarded for special scientific research and I should like to take this opportunity of assuring him of the great satisfaction which has been universally felt at the bestowal upon him of the unique distinction of the Nobel Prize. I desire also to offer our congratulations to Professor Radhakrishnan on his selection to

deliver the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford and also on his selection as representative of India on the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

As you have said, an outstanding event of the academic year has been the completion of the labours of the University Organisation Committee. The appointment of such a Committee had become inevitable, if only by reason of the vigorous growth of Post-Graduate studies and research. The scheme devised by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has passed from infancy to maturity and the necessity of ensuring a stable system for the future, based upon the experience of the past, had become acute. The investigations of the Committee were necessary as much for the academic welfare of the University as its economic administration. Our thanks are due to the Committee and a special measure of praise must be extended to Dr. Urquhart who presided. To his energy and guidance the success attendant on the labours of this Committee is in no small measure due. I trust that the very comprehensive changes proposed in the report will make for the effective development and control of the Post-Graduate side of the University life. The financial implications of the report have not yet been placed before me—indeed, I understand the examination of them has not yet been completed, but it will be readily appreciated that, however desirable in themselves the proposed reforms may be, Government will no doubt consider it necessary in the present state of the Provincial finances to scrutinise with the greatest care any proposals which involve an increased demand on public revenues. It is, however, widely realised that considerable modifications are called for in the present scheme of control and organisation and I hope to see the fullest co-operation between Government and the University in seeking a solution of the present problem consistent with economy and academic efficiency.

I have naturally been watching with anxiety the conditions prevailing not only in this Presidency but throughout India during the past year. It was obvious that as a result of a trade depression and civil disobedience the revenues of the Province

would be seriously diminished which would involve retrenchment in all directions. As Chancellor, I realise that the prosperity of this University must react on the prosperity of the Presidency and we have, all of us, reason for concern when we see the revenues being so seriously diminished.

You have referred in some detail, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to the financial difficulties of the University. The subject is complex and not free from controversial issues, but in view of the request I have received by a Resolution of the Syndicate to receive a deputation on this subject, it would be inadvisable for me to refer at length to this question to-day. Let me say at once that I welcome the opportunity which such an occasion should afford me of hearing direct from the representatives of the University a full statement of their financial position to-day and the proposals which they may wish to make for meeting it. I shall be glad to receive a deputation on the subject in the early future.

I listened, not without some concern, to your remarks as regards the health and physical welfare of the students of the University. Your remarks, coming as they do from one who is eminently qualified to speak on the subject, must command serious attention. I was particularly impressed by your condemnation of the students' places of residence which (including even some of the "approved" hostels and messes) you have characterised as "appallingly bad, unhealthy, congested and over-crowded." I must admit that I see no royal road to the eradication of the evils either of malnutrition or of bad housing to which you refer, but the question is one which the University and the Colleges cannot afford to overlook and I am sure that within the limits of their financial resources, they will give the most careful consideration to any scheme of amelioration which can be developed and put into effect under your expert guidance.

I have on a previous occasion referred to the problem of unemployment of students when they have completed their University course. I listened to the Vice-Chancellor's remarks on

this subject with much interest. I fear I know nothing of the value of psycho-analytical examination, nor how far the possibilities of a scheme such as suggested by the Vice-Chancellor have been explored in India, but any process which can divert a student to that course for which he is best fitted sounds eminently attractive. I cannot help feeling that many young men waste their time struggling for examinations in subjects for which they are not suited and for professions which are already more than full. If psycho-analysis can help to direct the footsteps of the student when his higher education is still before him, the problem of employment should be half solved. I should like to know what the possibilities are of error in the diagnosis. I shudder to think of the danger of a small error which might divert a budding Raman from his pursuit of scientific truth to the career of a conjuror or illusionist. Psycho-analysis at all events would appear to provide unsuccessful examinees with an admirable excuse for failure. However, I am told that experiments by psycho-analytical examination have proved to be successful in other countries.

It seems to me that the fundamental principle on which we should base our efforts to deal with this question of unemployment among our educated classes, is not so much the finding of posts for our graduates when we have trained them, but the training of our students for the world they have to live in. That is why I personally welcome the Vice-Chancellor's proposal, for his line of attack is fundamentally in the right direction and the chief question is how far it can be made to work in practice.

Tradition and routine are at once the strength and the weakness of all established institutions: the strength, because they ensure continuity and provide the framework for the living tissue—the weakness, because the weight of the past may smother the energies of the present and a skeleton may do duty for the quick and vivid soul. It is well, then, that we should ask from time to time questions that probe deeper than order and organisation, that lay bare the foundations and search the

heart. I wish to ask one such question : what is the aim of a University at this time and in this country ?

None of us can fully answer this question—certainly I cannot. But we will all, perhaps, agree that a modern University has two broad objects. The first is to safeguard and augment the legacy of knowledge, to keep it alive and alert, to save it from becoming stereotyped and formal. I do not under-rate this aim, but I think it is sufficiently recognised and indeed, it is enshrined in the very motto of this University : The Advancement of Learning. All of us must rejoice to note the indications that this motto is still an active inspiration and acclaim the broadening spirit of enquiry and research, the increasing provision of Professorships, laboratories and libraries, the important work already done, the work now in prospect.

I do feel, however, that a University has a more practical utility. Of a hundred who enter its doors, probably only one can look forward to a life to be spent in the service of pure inquiry, as pioneer in the uncharted seas and untravelled lands of knowledge. The others must find their daily work in some more conventional and less exciting business. A University has a duty to these too, not only to give them that basis of general education which will make their principles more sound and their sympathies more generous, but to fit them in some measure for their respective avocations.

The customs of this country make this task difficult. Learning has been too largely literary or philosophical and its practical implications for common life tend to be neglected. The system of mass production, the inhibitions of caste, the lure of the beaten track, these and other causes lead the great majority of University students to law, teaching or the service of the State. All these are necessary and worthy professions, but they are overcrowded and offer prizes only to the few. The time has surely come for students to turn in large numbers to the vast and more sparsely occupied fields of applied science. I once heard Science described as "an entrancing pursuit of the atom and the star,"

it is not only that: it is a study many of the results of which can solve the problems and fulfil the needs of everyday life. Some years ago, there was a marked flow in this University towards scientific subjects, but if this is now decreasing, it may be because enough energy and enterprise have not been forthcoming in the application of scientific knowledge. There is room yet for engineers and architects, for prospectors and metallurgists, for men who will use modern methods and achievements in the innumerable branches of technical industry. If we are wise, our own foresight and prudence and patriotism will be as active as the pressure of economic necessity in guiding many more of the ablest students into these less crowded spheres of activity.

And now it remains for me only to congratulate those who have to-day taken their degrees. Some of you will pursue your training further in the fields of Post-Graduate research and study: others, perhaps, most of you, to-day complete a stage of your lives,—the preparation stage—and stand on the threshold of the careers for which all that has gone before has been designed to fit you. To all I wish every success.

CORRECTION OF ERROR AS A LOGICAL PROCESS.[1]

Correction not expressible as the judgment 'what was believed as *this* snake is not snake.'

I am said to correct an error of mine when I disbelieve in what I am aware I believed. The correction of the error of taking a rope for a snake may be expressed as two processes. I am now aware that I believed this object before me to be *this snake* and I now believe that this was not a snake. Is the singleness of the corrective process expressed adequately by the complex sentence, 'this that I believed as this snake is not snake?' The clause 'that I believed, etc.' only gives subsidiary information though the corrective function is directed primarily towards what is meant by the clause, towards what *this* was taken to be and not towards *this*. Again what is now taken to be no snake is a content that *was* believed to be fact and is not now believed. It is not believed as a past fact nor can it here be said to be merely suggested to me as a possible fact about which there may be a genuine question whether it exists. The subject of a negative judgment is what is believed or suggested as a fact in the judgment. The complex statement above is no negative judgment and does not adequately express correction.

The predicate of the complex sentence '(this...) *is not snake*' is also open to objection. The disbelief in correction is primarily disbelief not in a certain naming of a previously believed content (that it is *snake*) but in its facthood. I now know that what *this* was taken to be was no fact. Correction has to be expressed in the two sentences, '*this* was taken as *this snake*' and 'what *this* was taken to be was no fact;' and these cannot be combined in one sentence.

It denies the facthood of the believed content, not its snake-character.

1 Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society on the 25th February, 1931.

Not only is correction not expressible as a negative judgment: there is no unitary logical form to express it. By logical form is here meant a form in which there is reference only to the content of a believing or thinking and not to the believing or thinking itself. Correction cannot be formulated in language without reference to the subjective fact of a past believing. It is an epistemological function that has no unitary logical content corresponding to it.

It is an epistemic function without a unitary logical content.

Correction has been so far described in terms of two subjective processes—a previous belief and a present disbelief referring to it. Are the processes rightly designated belief and disbelief? Was the previous consciousness a belief, the content of which could be called 'this snake'? There is the extreme view that it was no belief, no consciousness at all of the unity 'this snake.' There was belief in *this* and belief in snake and these beliefs that were together were simply not distinguished. Or it may be allowed that the facts *this* and snake were the contents of a single belief but they were not distinguished. Or this view may go with the admission of some consciousness of the unity 'this snake' other than belief—suggestion or thought or speaking consciousness. There is no error according to these views and therefore also no correction. What is called error is only not distinguishing, the privation of the knowledge of distinction; and correction is nothing but the knowledge of the distinction that was previously unappreciated. Such a position can hardly be refuted except by an appeal to the testimony of consciousness. The appeal is not indeed decisive, for the testimony is indefinite. We are not clear at the time of correction whether the previous consciousness was of a definite unity but in any case we can say that it was not consciousness of an indefinite content, consciousness of *this* and snake as utterly unrelated. What was not appreciated as indefinite may yet have

View that *not* 'this snake' but *this* and snake were believed as undistinguished — rejected.

been indefinite but there is at least a presumption in favour of its having been a definite unity.

Forms of the view that correction is no disbelief in *this* having been snake.

Admitting then that there was a belief in the unity 'this snake,' we ask if there is now a disbelief in it. That there is no longer a belief in 'this snake' is not disputed but it may not mean that there is now a disbelief in the form 'this is not a snake' or 'this snake is not a fact.' Even if such a disbelief be admitted, it may not mean disbelief in *this* having been a snake when it was believed as such. These may appear to be unreal objections but they gain plausibility when developed. The present consciousness, it may be said, is primarily a belief in *this* being a rope. It refers indeed to the previous belief in 'this snake' but the reference is only a belief in a positive distinction between *this* and snake which ousts the previous belief psychologically but does not amount to a disbelief in it. I may now say 'this is not snake' but the word *not* here only means a distinction and does not imply a rejection. Negation in the objective content means nothing but distinction and even if there be a subjective feeling of rejecting or disbelieving as distinct from distinguishing, it has no content other than distinction. Even if 'this is not snake' means the non-existence of snake here and not simply its distinction from *this*, non-existence being as much an objective fact as distinction, it is the content of a belief and not of the alleged process of rejection or disbelief. Again admitting that the disbelief has for its content the *falsity* of the previous belief, this falsity, it may be said, is only an additional character, the knowlege of which means the psychological cessation of the previous belief but does not affect its truth. There is no contradiction in speaking of the content 'this snake' as both true and false, true in itself when the belief was there and false now in relation to the content now believed, *viz.*, 'this being rope.'

Introspection does not quite help us here.

The suggestion throughout is that there is no disbelief in the form 'this was not snake,' no awareness of the content 'this snake' as having been false when it was believed. That there is now only belief and no disbelief appears however to be an extreme statement that is not warranted by introspection. I am aware of having a disbelief and also a belief not only in 'this rope' but also in the non-existence of snake here though hardly in the distinction of *this* from snake. The testimony of introspection is not however clear as to whether the disbelief is in the form 'this *was* not snake.' If it be suggested that the disbelief is only in the form 'this *is* not snake,' the suggestion does not appear to be definitely opposed to my introspection. Not that the snake has now only ceased to exist and that it was when believed. Introspection apparently does not say anything about my present belief being in a snake having existed when it was believed.

'This snake as false now' is no contradiction to but transformation of 'this snake as true when believed.'

But, it may be said, the truth or falsity of a believed content does not mean its existence or non-existence in time. Disbelief in its existence now may be regarded as *belief* in its falsity as an additional character. The content 'this snake as false now' does not contradict the content 'this snake as true then' and may even be said to contain it ideally, to affirm it as not negated but positively transformed. The notion of ideal retention or transformation is difficult to understand in the case specially of perceptual error. But then perception as knowledge would be taken in this view to be an implicit judgment. How is the content of the judgment 'this is snake' contained in that of the judgment 'this is rope'? A judgment cannot be taken by itself: it has to be taken as implicitly cohering in the inferential way with other judgments. A judgment is to be understood as an epistemological condensation of a system of judgments and perception that is knowledge is a further integration of such a judgment into psychological

immediacy. The percepts 'this snake' and 'this rope' are each an integration of a system of believed contents and one may be said to contain the other in the sense that the system integrated in the one is inclusive of the system integrated in the other. The relation of inclusion between the percepts is not indeed perceived and hence it may be called an ideal inclusion which appears to perception as the magic relation of transformation.

Literal meaning of transformation or ideal inclusion.

The strictly logical assertion in this view is that the content 'this snake' as false to my present belief does not contradict 'this snake' as true to my previous belief. The rest of the view is couched in imaginative language and whether it can be fully presented in literal logical terms is disputable. The metaphors mainly employed are the *implicit* working of one cognition in another and the content of one cognition being present *in ideality* or transformed in the content of another. Implicit working of inference in judgment and of judgment in perception means in strict logic that the included cognition is cognition of a content other than the content of the inclusive cognition, which yet is no new fact. When again the content A is said to be reduced to ideality or transformed in another content X, nothing more is meant than that the cognition of X is the cognition of A in relation to B and that the cognition of this relation is implicitly contained in the cognition of A in the sense explained that it is cognition of no fact other than A. Whatever else appears to be meant by these notions is purely subjective and is only figuratively represented in objective language.

Inclusion only in a constructive sense and even as such cannot be demonstrated.

When then the belief in 'this rope' is said to contain the belief in 'this snake' as transformed, what is literally meant is that the belief now is in the content 'this snake' in relation to new contents, the relation being no new fact. The perceived *this* taken with certain relations to outside facts makes a system which is constructively the same

fact as 'this snake.' (Again *this* taken with the relations to these and other outside facts makes a fuller system which is the same fact as 'this rope.') The facts and relations contained in each system however can never be fully specified and it would therefore appear to be impossible to show that one system is included in the other. Even if this objection is waived, it is hardly justifiable to deny that the percepts integrating the systems are incompatible on the ground that one system includes the other. The percepts 'this rope' and 'this snake' are wholly incompatible characterisations of the given *this*, one of which can be said to ideally include, define or transform the other only

otely constructive sense.

belief in 'this rope' is a disbelief in 'this snake' now but does it mean that 'this snake' *was* false when it was believed? It all depends on what is meant by the content of a belief

is believed be ıake?

ief. Is believing a content the same as believing a f a content is believed, it is believed as fact. If is disbelieved, taken to be false, it is no longer as fact. The disbelief is a conscious reference evious belief, to the previous apprehension of nt as fact. Can the content be *now* spoken of snake?' I can say now that what I believed ave then spoken of as 'this snake' is false but can I ake' is false? Can what is known as false be spoken Does not *this* at once mean this *fact* in time? If a es not mean a fact in time, can we apply the word

ntent of the consciousness 'this fact' can be called 'this meaning,' if introspection into the consciousness of a fact as *this* is admitted to be itself the consciousness of the fact as a meaning. If what is now disbelived be said to be 'this snake,' 'this snake' is a meaning and not a fact to the disbelief, though the same expression stands for a fact to the

ke'—false as el-fconscious- ther true nor t to previous is.

previous belief. The present disbelief refers to the previous belief and is on a self-conscious level relatively to it which stood only on the conscious level. What then is false to self-consciousness need not be false to consciousness. Properly speaking, however, the concept of falsity does not emerge on the level of merely objective consciousness. We can speak of the content of consciousness as fact or no fact, existent or non-existent but not as true or false. It is meaningless to speak of '*this* snake'—as to the previous belief—as true or false. The suggestion running through the views just examined that a belief that is false in relation and conscious reference to another belief may be still true in itself has therefore to be rejected as futile.

What is false is inexpressible in purely objective terms.

What was taken as 'this snake' cannot be said been false. What is now taken as fal also be expressed as ' this snake.' in fact has no reference to th position of a cognition at all. What is taken as false c specified in objective terms. If the disbelief is expresse form 'this that was believed and could be spoken of as t was not a snake,' the subject is a mixture of subjective tive terms. If the disbelief be formulated—preferably explained—in two sentences 'what this was believed to b and 'this was believed (or more accurately, could be spo belief) as *this* snake,' both the sentences are a mixtu tive and objective terms. The difficulty, it would ap merely verbal.

What is false is a meaning to 'self-consciousne

View that meaning being but fact meant, previous belief was not in the meaning 'this snake' but only a believing of that mode,

at the same time *this fact* to the co consciousness. As meaning, it spoken of as *this*, though it cannot be ted except by a reference to *this* fact. content is a meaning with a necessary c stitutive reference to the *this*-ness of fact. It may, how held that meaning or content is but the fact that is content of a belief that is not fact but mere meaning

Meaning as distinct from fact meant is but the subjective function of thinking. It may be symbolically or figuratively spoken of as though it were objective but it is not objective at all. What is false then is not the content of a belief but the belief itself. There was the belief formulated by the phrase 'this snake' which however was not belief *in the content* 'this snake' It was belief in *this* and belief in snake but not belief in the unity 'this snake.' Yet it cannot be said that the two beliefs were simply not distinguished—a view already examined. They were positively combined into a single belief which had however no content. It was not belief *in* ' this snake ' and can only be figuratively spoken of as such. Correction indeed is disbelief but the content of the disbelief is the negation ' this is not snake' which however is not the whole content of the corrective consciousness. What is false or is corrected is not the judgment 'this is snake' : it is the previous belief which was not a judgment or inference but a perception. But as there was no fact corresponding to the phrase 'this snake,' the perception was only a perceiving and not the cognition of a content or fact which are the same.

combining the beliefs in *this* and snake,

Can belief as a mere subjective fact be said to be false ? It can be said to be false only in respect of its reference, of what it says, unless the falsity of a belief means nothing but its ineffectiveness in a will-context. Falsity may be ascertained partially by a reference to the will-context but it does not *mean* ineffectiveness Apparently then this view has to admit a content that is spoken of, thought or suggested without belief. What is false s belief in respect of this thought-content. There was a belief combining the beliefs in *this* and snake, which had no content, no fact corresponding to it. But the belief is now interpreted by a word-conditioned thought of which ' this snake' or ' this being snake ' is the content. This thought is formulated at the time of disbelief and is taken to be the description of the belief The belief then is false not in respect of *its* content—for it

has no content—but in respect of the content that is now thought to describe the particularising character of the belief.

factitiously described by the present thought-content 'this snake' and false in respect of it.

But is this thought content a true description of the belief or is it only a constructive or symbolic description? It is the latter, though as no belief is claimed for it, there is no question of truth or error. The meaning of correction accordingly changes in his view: it is not disbelieving in a previously believed *content* but only disbelieving that the previous belief had a content at all. This is expressed by the negative judgment 'this is not snake' which however does not presuppose the suggestion that the belief had 'this snake' for its content. The negative judgment is ordinarily taken to presuppose an affirmative judgment or a question which suggests a possible fact. Here however the judgment 'this is not snake' would be taken to presuppose a belief that has no content and is only characterised by the thought 'this being snake' at the time of the judgment. The belief is false in respect of what is now constructively taken to be its content.

Belief only of the mode 'this snake' admitted also by idealist but as presentation. It is not even belief in snake.

The admission in this realistic view of a contentless belief would bring it perilously near an idealistic view according to which object is nothing but belief with its subjectivity alienated or heterised. There was, according to both, no belief *in* 'this snake' but only belief *of this form*, belief as factitiously characterisable by the present thought of 'this snake.' In the realistic view however the contentless belief was only a believing and no presentation while in the particular idealistic view, it is a presentation. A further difference is that the belief that is corrected is in the realistic view contentless so far as 'this snake' is not a unitary believed content though it is still belief *in* the contents *this* and snake, while in the idealistic view, the belief *of the form* 'this snake' is not only not belief in the unity but not also in *snake*.

The idealistic view here appears to have an advantage over the realistic view, for it is difficult to understand a unitary belief which is only partly determined or characterised by its content. Now that we have the thought of the unity 'this snake' or 'this being snake' which is disbelieved, the thought that symbolises the subjective unity of the belief, can we say that the predicate or determinant *snake* in it means the fact snake as remembered to be elsewhere? Is it believed at all within this thought? As the thought of 'this snake' now rises with disbelief, it implies an empty contingency like 'if this could be snake, as it cannot be.' The emergence of the idea of snake may be through memory but does the idea continue to be a believed memory-content within such a contingent thought? Apparently it continues only as *meaning* and for the belief now characterised by the thought of 'this snake,' ' snake ' is as little a believed content as the unity ' this snake,' being only the *mode* of the belief—the believing or the presentation.

Snake as in the present thought ' this snake' is imaginary.

To the idealistic view, the previous belief is no belief *in* snake but is still belief in *this* as a presentation, though not as objective fact. ' This snake ' was a presentation and since *this* as believed now is objective fact (or heterised presentation), the word *this* appears to be a specification both of the objectified and of the unobjectified presentation. Taking the disbelief implied in correction to be adequately expressed in the form ' this snake is not ' rather than in the form ' this is not snake,' would *this* in it mean a perceived content, the perceived substrate of the snake-character? If neither ' this snake ' nor ' snake ' be a believed content for the previous belief, can *this* be regarded as a substrate at all? When I imagine a lion on a perceived object like the wall before me, the whole content ' lion on the wall ' being imaginary, the term ' wall ' in the whole means not the locus as perceived but the imagined character of location of the imagined lion. So here *this* is not a believed substrate but only an

View that *this* in it also is imaginary.

imagined specification of the imagined snake. The previous belief in the mode ' this snake ' has thus no content at all or has for its content something that is no fact at all but absolute naught.

It is not even the psychic fact of presentation.

The illusion ' this snake ' is then a presentation in which there is no belief in *this* or snake or their unity as fact. The word *this* is here not only not the specification of an objective fact but not also of the presentation as a subjective fact. *This* in 'this snake' which is disbelieved stands for no fact at all. The disbelief is absolute and is not capable of being expressed as a negative judgment. If it is at all expressed as a negative statement, its form would be ' this snake is not ' which would not be a negative existential judgment like ' ghosts do not exist ' in so far as the subject ' this snake ' is not even the suggestion of a possible fact. It is not even the psychic fact of presentation, being only the appearance of presentation, if such a phrase could be allowed. At the time of disbelief, we feel it is only *as though* ' this snake ' was presented.

Objection : 'this snake ' was believed and not merely imagined and so the false can neither be asserted nor denied to be *this* fact.

All this follows from the meaning of *this* in the disbelieved unity ' this snake ' : every part of an imaginary content is imaginary. The objection to this view is that ' this snake was believed and was not merely imagined like the lion on the wall. I disbelieve it now not in the form ' this snake is not ' but in the form 'what I believed *this* to be is not ', where the word *this* stands for a fact that is now believed. But then I believed *this* to be ' this snake ' in which phrase or thought the word *this* means what is like *snake* no fact. Yet the two *this*'s mean the same perceived content. I cannot say then that what *this* was believed to be was not presented nor that it was presented as *this*. Now that I disbelieve, I cannot assert that I perceived *this* snake nor can I deny that I perceived something as *this*, as an individual fact

before me. I cannot now describe in objective terms what I then believed nor can I say that there was only the subjective fact of contentless belief. I believed in a content which was not fact nor absolute nought.

KRISHNACHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

CULTIVATION OF PURE ART IN MODERN GERMANY.[1]

III.

There is no fine line of demarcation between pure art and science. In the Universities mathematics, history of fine arts, physics, chemistry, philosophy, botany, etc., are seen side by side. Nor is it possible to classify the academies and Universities according to this principle. Neither can we make such a classification with the help of the particular objectives in each case, as will readily appear from a consideration of such disciplines as psychiatry, sociology, psychology, mathematics, etc. Any attempt to classify the various branches of learning according as they are closely allied to, or remote from, our every day life will be equally futile. Theology which heightens the sense of moral responsibility and obligation in the people, archaeology, the representatives of which discipline by means of excavations and research expeditions discover lost links of relationship with other nations and thus prepare the ground for economic and cultural collaboration, are of no less vital importance for our everyday life than the natural sciences. Pure art and science are so closely related to each other that the two together make up one whole. It is only on account of the meagre modes of expression at the disposal of man and the narrow circle in which he is used to think that this arbitrary division is at all justifiable.

Various forces of different character are now exerting their influence on all branches of learning and particularly on pure art in post-war Germany. Pursuit of knowledge has assumed a different aspect in the modern life and thought of the people. In pre-war days, in wide circles of the cultured men of Germany, pursuit of pure art was a sort of heavenly urge; now it has been left to itself. In this way pursuit of knowledge has also been

[1] Translation from the original German by Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh.

purged of all alien elements and motives and brought nearer home to its own mission—it has now more self-consciousness and power of self-determination. But there is also the other side of the medal. A certain uncongeniality and indifference with regard to the pursuit of knowledge has gradually gained ground, which can hardly be favourable and advantageous to its cause. Various fields of life which were dominated by this desire for pursuit of knowledge are now enjoying more attention than they deserve and are thus overshadowing it. As a result, learning has become foreign to the life of the people. Dilettantism and superstition have got possession of the nation—the most incredible things are now believed; but at the same time it has to be noted that many of these superstitions belonged formerly properly to the region of scientific learning and very often this dilettantism has preserved, refreshed in its isolation, in fossilised form much that is genuine and old. It is the hey-day of occultism, spiritism, astrology, etc. In the midst of such uncongenial paraphernalia scientific learning has naturally to encounter many bitter struggles and suffer many sacrifices. It will now be tested to its bones.

Although this struggle is going on mainly without the precincts of pure scientific activity, there is no want of nuts to crack even inside of them and those of closely allied subjects. Pure art is now being confronted by the natural sciences, which, as is well-known, have imposed their methodology on pure art subjects, in course of the last few decades. A new turn from the age of technique and rationalism is clearly perceptible as the former materialistic vision of life is now losing ground and hand in hand with it there is another tendency which is gradually gaining in strength—a tendency "to liberate pure art subjects from the guardianship of natural sciences, to fully elucidate the special features of art subjects and to present before the world their own laws and to vindicate the independence and freedom of the spirit from nature," as Heinrich Maier has happily formulated it. This idealistic tendency is also vital and active.

Of another nature are those tendencies which tend to remould the external accommodation of scientific learning. The same tendency towards rationalisation and centralisation which is perceptible in economic life has made its appearance also in the field of pure scientific activities. The distresses of the German people which rendered it imperative to strain all the resources of the nation led also to this rationalisation in the field of scientific knowledge. Therein lies the source of the great idea which gave rise to the "Emergency Society for the Benefit of German Scientific Activity" (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft)—that wonderful collective structure the central point of all organisational activities, directing all branches of art and science in Germany admired and imitated in every part of the world.

Another peculiar feature in the organisation of German scientific activity is yet to be mentioned, which owes its origin apparently to an external ground—the intensive academisation of Germany—as a result of which all the Universities are now filled to overflowing. Purely scientific research works have grown out of the Universities and are now carried on in the sphere of special organisations which are exclusively devoted to that purpose. A certain distinction between research works and teaching has been made, so that both may be the better treated for it in practical work. These research institutes are auxiliary organisations to Universities, Academies, libraries and museums, their principal duty is to inaugurate new lines of research for which there is no possibility in the University, to call off some scholars from teaching work and get them engaged in purely scientific investigations and lastly to train up young academicians after the completion of their studies before they begin the application of their science in practical life or take up professorial work. In this way nothing is taken away from the University, rather something is being given to it. The University takes up the investigations of the research institutions when they are ripe for it, *i.e.*, when they have stood the scientific test, and dissociate

from them a part of the problems arising out of them and thus can better concentrate itself on its own original mission. This practical division of labour along with the sinking of all fundamental difference between research works and teaching has been more than justified by practical experience.

The great ideals of evangelical theology preached by Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Ritschl (1822-1889) are still throbbing and vital in Germany. Schleiermacher, philosopher and theologian in the same person, discovered in Religion an independent field of intellectual activity and being a romantist he took religion to be feeling ; his realisation of God is through the Universe and he set down categorically that only the pious may be theologians. For Ritschl on the other hand religion is not divorced of thought and will : If Christ is "God's representative in history," then the ultimate goal of the world is the Kingdom of God. Both Schleiermacher and Ritschl hold that religion is an independent field of intellectual activity and that the faith comes to individual men from the church—the evangelical church. School after school has arisen out of the teachings of these two theologians and in consideration of their great importance for the present day it is not possible to overlook them. Of course evangelical theology has undergone changes to suit the varying tides of time. Research-works in the field of New Testament are now overburdened with a mass of historical technicalities. Various other disciplines such as philosophy, natural sciences, etc., have entered the precincts of theology in the shape of one problem or another and have widened its sphere of activity. The so-called dialectical theology or the "theology of crisis" has carved out for itself a large place in recent times. It claims to be theology of the coming age. The Swiss Karl Barth (Bonn) is the greatest protagonist of this theology and E. Brunner (Zürich), Fr. Gogerten (Jena), O. Piper (Münster) are pursuing it with literary zeal. He lays much emphasis on the "word of God" as distinct from the historical biblical tradition. Theology had become too independent Karl Barth is trying to

make it again subservient to the church. He exposes the black sides of the word and calls upon men to think over them. In existence he finds an insurmountable barrier between God and us men. Man "is" nought. Barth is not particularly interested in the mode of life of the Christians, because God does not demand more than "repentance and atonement" even from the faithful. Barth's attitude towards the dogma of the church is quite remarkable. Evangelical theology has not remained untouched by the spirit of the time—it too has learnt to value practical interests. Let us remember the ecunemic movement, the ecclesiastical congress in Stockholm (1925) and Lausanne (1928), the establishment of a "World Union for friendly co-operation" of the churches and the great influence which this union has exercised on the whole discipline of evangelical theology. It is not at all a fortuitous coincidence that G. Wünsche (Marburg) in a voluminous work has subjoined things economic to theology and it is also evident that the tides of social movements are also gradually drawing evangelical theology into its trammels. The picture of the present condition of evangelical theology will be complete when it is added that the zeal in Lutherian studies has increased for which material and inspiration is sought in the great enterprise—the edition of the works of Luther of which 75 thick quarto volumes have alrerdy appeared.

Catholic theology on the other hand grew up and exists under quite different circumstances, belonging to a confessional minority it had to suffer severely in various ways, especially in cultural struggle, during the seventies and the eighties of the previous century, so that the main energies of the German Catholics were consumed in political strife in self-defence and only very little could be spared for scientific studies, particularly for the science of theology. The result of it was that theological studies obtained very poor material support and had to be carried on the basis of meagre resources. It is an index of its admirable courage and unconquerable zeal that, when it

was freed from these outer bounds, in spite of all possible contrary circumstances, Catholic theology could again rise to the level of a scientific discipline of high order. Catholic theology enjoys a peculiar position among all the other sciences. In conformity with the inner convictions of its representatives, it is inseverably chained to ecclesiastical dogmas and does not attempt to present the teachings of the church on a new basis or to interpret them from a subjective point of view as opposed to the conventional formulary of the church. Inspired by a highly developed spirit of community the Catholic theologian never forgets his share of the general responsibility and he never proclaims in public his own theological views and hypotheses, unless they are thoroughly tested, merely out of a personal urge to give them expression. Like every generous sacrifice this voluntary self-subjugation too has borne its fruit. To it owes the Catholic theology the imposing aspect of its homogeneous structure and the fact that Catholic theology is to a large extent free from the influence of varying tides of time, can be only explained in the light of this self-subjugation in its representatives. This aloofness from all worldly influences however does not rule out the possibility of an alternation of interest in respect of the various fields of study within the sphere of Catholic theology. It is now mainly engaged with liturgy, mysticism and scholasticism and bringing them into harmony with the spirit of the age which is unusually favourable to it. When in post-war period Catholic theology was freed from external pressure, it succeeded with the help of the various priestly orders, in filling up the gaps in its personnel, caused by decades of extremely unfavourable circumstances. Along with the great theological journal "Voices of the Time" the Jesuits, now came back from exile, made their way to wide circles of the laity. The liturgical publications of the Benedectines in Maria Laach under abbot Ildefons Herwegen assisted by a newly established scientific school for monks and the "Bavarian Benedictine Academy" started a great movement in connection with church

ceremonials. Catholic theology received welcome inspiration also from History and Philosophy on which valuable publications were made under the auspices of "The Catholic Society for the Culture of Sciences—the Görres Society." Their historical year-book, their sources and research-works in the field of history, their philosophical year-book, their Callectanea Hierosolymitana offer a mass of materials which may be used for theology. It derives much light also from the publication of the files of the economical councils as well as of those of Constance and Trient. The best intellects in the sphere of Catholic theology are now exerting themselves zealously over them. And lastly let us mention the most distinctive feature of Catholic theology : its appeal is more effective and goes nearer to actual life than that of most of the other disciplines and it has the peculiar aptitude to shelter into its folds benighted individuals from outside : let us only remember in what a masterly fashion the Catholic theology has availed itself of this favourable turn in time and on the other hand how thoroughly it has popularised great movements (such as about church ceremonials) which had their origin in itself.

Philosophy is the meeting point of the deeper currents of intellectual activity. The last philosophical epoch had surrendered itself completely to naturalism and relativism ; but already in the nineties of the preceding century powerful antagonists made their appearance in the shape of the champions of idealism and absolutism. The struggle was a bitter one. The Neo-idealism was at first engaged with methodology and tried to liberate the pure art subjects from the fetters of natural sciences. Dilthey was the pioneer. The struggle was directed against the naturalistic conception of the philosophy of history, sociology, psychology of association, etc. And at the same time the normative work for the ideal was begun, the ought-to-be became important and it was recognised that the autonomy of the spirit has to be established. In practical life the neo-idealismus led to the ideal of an ethical culture—it wanted to find a "new spiritual

content of life, as Rudolph Eucken, one of the advance guards in this movement, declared. This practical idealism was further supported by metaphysical idealism and thus succeeded in conquering the supreme position for the spirit and crowned with it the world of realities. The German idealism returned from its exile. Conjointly with this neo-idealism absolutism too has assailed naturalism and relativism in their citadel. The negation is no longer tolerated, people have now again courage to set up ideals and to implicitly believe in them—they feel themselves pledged to these ideals. Art, science, law, state—everything acquires new value in the light of this new idealism, and religion too receives its full share of it and renovated by the metaphysical movements for absolutism it began to exert fresh influence in intellectual circles. This gave rise to an intensive interest in the scholastic philosophy for Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. The tendency towards absolutism began to make itself felt more and more also in the region of perception. Relative truth must give place to the absolute which is taken to be independent of the agent and therefore a thing in itself by the representatives of the logical absolutism of truth such as Th. Lipps, Husserl, Meinong and also by the phenomenologists and realistic philosophers (Gegenstandstheoretiker). To others like Rickert and Royce this thing in itself is the norm of truth, the law of truth and the quality of truth, but in itself no lasting essence of truth. Inspired by this philosophical tendency people are now giving serious thoughts to the problem of rehabilitating the individual disciplines on a new basis of the theory of perception and a new logical foundation. Out of it rose the philosophy of intuition and experience, based on Bergson's method of intuition and it draws material also from the school of Stefan George and the phenomenology of Husserl. The greatest exponent of this new philosophy was Max Scheler. Through this system mysticism was again introduced into modern life, which on its side again influenced religion. But along with it also many dangerous offshoots have entered the sphere of modern life, such

as anthroposophy, occultism, spiritism, astrologism, etc. In the meantime new ground has been broken for metaphysics from the idealistic and phenomenological side, which to the former implies a turn towards realism and to the latter a turn from the subject to the object. But still it is a turn towards metaphysics in each case. It lends its characteristic stamp to modern philosophy and through it alone can modern man arrive at a cosmic view worthy of himself.

Psychology thrives in combination with philosophy, but in recent times it had to shed its skin very often. Physiological and perceptional psychology has been transformed into the psychology of development, function and configuration—a psychology of pure natural science has been remoulded into that of pure art. Every one followed in the footsteps of Wilhelm Wundt. This transformation however has in no way hindered experimental psychology being appreciated in allied fields. Psychology has to suffer great reverses in public estimation under the tyranny of antipsychologism on account of its relativistic tendencies, but in spite of it, it has been able to attract many dilettantic circles to render voluntary services to it. A great part of the rôle of psychology is now being played in the sphere of active life and there it is rendering useful service to the science of pedagogics. It is indispensable to pedagogics for the psychological foundation to all vocational education and it is actively engaged in exploring the mysteries of the child's mind.

Pedagogics itself, after its classical age under Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Pestalozzi, Fichte, Froebel, Herbart and Schleiermacher was completely thrust back into a subordinate position. It went so far that the whole method of education fell into the hands of the epigones of Herbart and only very few people took interest in scientific pedagogics. It is the Great War which has set things in good order again in this field. It has remoulded the whole system of public instruction and given it the stamp of a national institution. An unprecedented conflict was the immediate result. Sharp discussions took place on

general school-system, instruction in manual labour and the education of teachers. Hans Richert carried out the reform of Prussian High Schools and Universities and animated by a novel idea of German civilisation and culture he tried to realise the ideal of the "German man." E. Spranger, Th. Litt and G. Kerschensteiner paved the way to scientific pedagogics in the field of pure art subjects and philosophy. Out of this circle arose the great compendious work of G. Kerschensteiner "Theory of Education." Practical as well as theoretical pedagogics have combined with each other in the attempt to create a cultural pedagogics, but it will be still some time before they attain this goal.

German jurisprudence has not suffered any considerable loss through the war; but it was confronted with an inordinate mass of material which had to be handled and luckily for German jurisprudence this new situation arose just after a brilliant age from the point of view of this discipline. German theory of state had then been developed under the inspiration of Labaud and epoch making works for the whole world were written on German civil law by J. W. Plank, Wachs and Kohler, on German criminal law by Binding and Liszt, on German commercial law by L. Goldschmidt, Cosack and Staub and on personal law by Windscheid, Dernburg and Gierke. The science of jurisprudence had to face new problems arising out of war and inflation. The war demanded explanation of the various economic measures taken by the government, such as the law of military confiscation and the so-called law of social interest, and the inflation gave rise to grave problems as to the revaluation of the currency system in the face of vanishing credit and allied questions. One can truly say in praise of German jurisprudence that it did not sink under the pressure of this heavy burden and its ship has safely reached the other shore after carefully avoiding the dangerous shallows.

A new constitution arose and along with it a new law of labour was enacted, law of trade, law of taxation, law of

administration—everything was changed from top to bottom. With the appearance of the Codex Juris Canonici of the Catholic church a new chapter was opened for modern ecclesiastical law. It derived equally fruitful inspiration from the reorganisation of the Evangelical churches of Germany. Stutz and J. V. Bredt found it necessary to write comprehensive works on this subject. International law naturally received much attention on account of the war and the peace treaties. This as well as the League of Nations, the question of sovereignty, the duty of the court of arbitration, were the most popular topics of the day for the science of international law. The most important book of reference in this field is the Recueil des Traités which appeared under the supervision of Triepel. Also in the field of criminal law the government has been induced by a powerful reform movement to order the drawing up of preliminaries to a new system of criminal law which are now being discussed in detail in the Reichstag. The legal systems of the whole civilised world are being taken into account in this connection, so that the work when completed may serve as a model to the whole world. Penetration of social thoughts into the sphere of this proposed system of criminal law is very remarkable. In its structure the jurisprudence of the present age is characterised by three outstanding features: withdrawal from the standpoint of Roman Law which goes hand in hand with antihistorism, a tendency towards comparative jurisprudence and the philosophy of jurisprudence. In immediate future these two last elements will very probably enjoy a great deal of attention.

Economics is closely connected with jurisprudence in practical life. 150 years ago Adam Smith's work found its way from England to Germany and here called into life the various sciences connected with the state. Historical methods were applied to them and they were enriched by new ideas of progress and evolution; they were made serviceable to the socialistic theory of exploitation and growing factory life, as Karl Marx

developed it from the view-point of the individual and Rodbertus from that of the state. Brentano and Schmoller gave birth to another historical school, characterised by its very cautious attitude towards the classical theories. Their pupils Fr. Knapp and K. Bücher succeeded at least in getting over the methodological conflict between history and theory by calmly adopting both points of view. Max Weber and Werner Sombart went even further than they; the former by methodical elaboration of economic "Ideal Types" and the other his characterisation of "economic types" which he knew how to present in a charming form in his works. Besides them there was also A. Wagner who was perhaps the first to apply international comparative methods and who devoted himself chiefly to the problem of labour. The theory of marginal utility was very long to come to Germany from the Austrian K. Menger over the Englishman Marshall and the Swiss Walras. Those lines of development which have been touched here may be traced from beyond the world war to the present day. But the war has done deadly injury to this science. The economic chaos which was caused by it spread also into the science of economics: the faith in this science was rudely shaken and a host of dilettantes, great and small, were drawn into the arena whose only motive was to make capital out of the present situation. The economic theories of Germany were enriched by fruitful ideas from America where the theory of rationalisation and consolidation had been highly developed. German political economy is now undergoing a process of complete reconstruction and there are already clear signs that it too will one day bear fair fruits which will be appreciated in the academic circles not only of this country but also of the world at large.

All the utterances made in the nineteenth century, from whatever quarter they might be, show the influence of the science of history, so that one may justly call it the "historica" century. This science of history rendered invaluable service in helping the people to form new conceptions of things and it exercised

enormous influence on many of the pure art disciplines, in whose name it bore the brunt of the struggle against the natural sciences. It appeared already to have achieved victory and to rule the battle-field when its compeers, which had helped it to achieve victory, suddenly again filled the battle-field with the din of war and at the end robbed it of its victory and power. The relativistic ideas which this science of history had disseminated were dissolved into philosophy and were directed into other channels of energy. The science of history lost its supreme position of leadership in the field of cultural discipline and had to suffer from a wave of anti-historism which is antagonistic in character and has not yet completely ebbed away. Still, the historians are pursuing and perfecting their work with that tenacity and asceticism which goes hand in hand with love of science. The sphere of history has been enormously extended both in time and space—the civilisations of the Nile and the Euphrates have been revealed to us till in the fourth millennium before Christ. But of late great vistas have been opened in the great civilisations of the Far East—in China and India, and last, but not least, also in Mexico and Peru. The lure of the east is best perceptible in the shape of the great research expeditions of recent years. Let us only remember the great Russo-German-Altai expedition. Cultural relations between the orient and the occident which could hardly be dreamt of are now fairly on the way to being firmly established on historical basis. But this call from afar has not been able to divert all attention in that direction so that one could complain that the nearer fields of research are in any way being neglected. The spirit of the great master Ranke is still alive in German history though it is now developing new tendencies in various directions. Hence the rise of our great historical commissions which are dealing with every German district separately, bringing out historical journals, compiling archives and directing greater publications (such as the historical atlas). The publication of the sources of history now takes place generally in the shape of regestae

consisting of extracts arranged in order of time and including all that is necessary. Critical interest has been awakened also in the proceedings of the diets and municipal law as well as in economic notes and sketches, such as Urbariums, Ledgers, etc. The science of history has also discovered new methods of scientific investigation as they are now being pursued in the research institutes. Under the guidance of Paul Kehr the Historical Institute of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Society is engaged in publishing "Germania Sacra", the correspondence of Charles V and the letters of William I. Many scientific societies have established special branches for history. The Görres-Society has brought out the great work "Concilium Tridentium." Various other great publications, particularly those on the sources of history, such as the monumental *Germaniae Historica*, the papal documents of Göttingen, the *Acta Borussica*, etc., have also been undertaken and zealously pursued. Yet the modern representatives of the science of history are inclined more towards other fields such as economic history, cultural history, constitutional history and also towards the problems of the present day, such as war guilt, Rhineland and the more complicated problem of the German nationality outside the boundaries of Germany. They think perhaps that in this way they can get rid of the evil of anti-historism in the shortest possible time and thus again win a high position in the heart of the people. Any way, they seem to have hit on the right track.

There is a number of scientific disciplines holding an intermediate position between the science of history and the natural sciences. It is almost impossible to classify them and formerly they were in a body brought under the comprehensive title of "Ethnology" by which we understand a baffling conglomeration of anthropology, ethnography, pre-history, folklore, native languages, etc. At its initial stage *anthropology* was engaged with the problem of the descent of man, turned to investigations on the shape of the craniums, colour of eyes and hair and latterly to racial biology and hygiene which is now absorbing

most interest in this field. As centres for the culture of anthropology may be mentioned the newly established Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in Berlin (1927) and the Anthropological Institute of Kiel (1929). At the instance of these two organisations extensive investigations are now being carried on in every part of Germany, the results of which are embodied in the gigantic work "Races of Germany—Investigation of races, clans, folklore and families of the German people." Anthropology is from its nature closely connected with *pre-history*, which is now concerned with works and investigations on the culture of the pre-historic peoples of the old world. By comparing and sifting the mass of materials which has been growing all the time, the science of pre-history made rough sections of the wide areas under consideration on the hypothesis that each of them has been the arena of activity of certain groups of people. But the modern exponents of this science have now shrunk back from this position. The sphere of culture is however the sum and substance of ethnology proper as it has been shown in the great work of Kopper "People and Culture" (1924). It consists of three early stages marking the origin of three new systems of civilisation (Kulturkris) which however may be mixed up also with other secondary stages. *Folklore*, which has also close relations with this complex will be dealt with in another connection. The fifth discipline which is associated with ethnology is represented by the native languages. The investigation of these languages was begun by commercial men and missionaries who found it necessary in practical life. The whole science of ethnology owes a great deal to these people who still at the present day are rendering invaluable services to science by revealing the modes of thinking of primitive peoples. The science of ethnology is one of our modern sciences which ought to have a good share of public sympathy.

Cultural and political history and the history of art have always influenced and are still influencing each other very

strongly, although the attempts of the latter to free itself from the thraldom of history have to some extent damped the cordial relations between these two disciplines. History of art has not been able to assert and establish its absolute independence, nor has a Schmarsow succeeded in establishing in it the law of evolution, nor has a Heinrich Wölfflin been able to establish the law of evolution " by means of the character and disposition of the artist's personality and through worth and execution "; nor has an Alais Riegl been able to establish his theory that in art one should not look to the value but only to the stages of transformation—which is identical with the law of evolution. Dvorak, who introduced the method of formal analysis to a whole new generation has himself fallen back upon historical methods and has again established the relation with history on the way over cultural history. The history of art is perhaps for ever doomed to be shuttle-cocked between the historical method and the method of formal analysis, because it consists of art and history—the eternal and the transitory.

The time is as little favourable for philology as for history. The present age, wholly dominated by machines, has a peculiar aspect of tumult and unrest—every nerve strained to grab pelf from the outer world, while the fountain of inner spirit is allowed to dry up, it replaces text by picture and book by newspaper, physical exercise degenerates into sport, the community is dissolved into set societies and the faculty of thinking is giving way to modes of viewing things. This spirit is clearly perceptible also in the present state of the culture of science, both in comprehensive works on the individual disciplines and in special publications and researches on particular themes. Inexactness of expression and hurriedness in execution is everywhere perceptible. As philology is chiefly concerned with specialised researches on particular themes, the number of its devotees is dwindling every day, and in so far as the case is not so the people who take up this branch of learning are by nature more suited to tumult and more inclined to take a

synthetic view of things. Thus in Germanic philology a turn from the linguistic point of view to the literary side is clearly perceptible. It is not at all a fortuitous coincidence that in the post-war period such an important work in the field of the history of German literature could be produced as J. Nadler's "Literary history of the German races and landscapes" in which an absolutely new view-point has been taken, inasmuch as the influence of home and all that is connected with it has been strongly emphasised.

The investigation of German dialects has received much favour in this age and the greatest impetus to it came from the gigantic work—the linguistic atlas of the German *Reich*—the only two published copies of which are in Berlin and Marburg respectively and Wrede is now engaged in bringing out an abridged edition of it under the title "German linguistic Atlas." In conformity with the tendency of the modern age towards cultural history and the historical treatment of the evolution of ideas, the sagas and fairy-tales, popular ballads and country usages—things which are still struggling for a position within the sphere of Germanic philology [1] are being investigated with great enthusiasm. This discipline of folklore (Volkskunde), as it is comprehensively called, is one of the youngest shoots in the tree of German scientific activity and has before it a very promising future, as it has been explained in a masterly fashion—anticipating many future developments—in the interesting new publication of Professor Dr. G. Schreiber—"National and International Folklore." With the help of the "Emergency Society for the benefit of German Scientific Activity" a gigantic work—"The Atlas of German Folklore"—has been undertaken in the model of the "German Linguistic Atlas." On a cartographical system, as in the case of the Linguistic Atlas, this atlas will present all that belongs to the life of the German people as found in German

[1] In the German sense of the word.—*Translator.*

home and the household implements, in food, drink and costumes, in private life and economic enterprises, along with all their accessories in religion, law and custom—from the most concrete to the purely spiritual aspects of life—in a complete and comprehensive form. The magnitude of this enterprise may be well estimated when we remember that questionnaires on all these points are being sent to every part of Germany and that to-day already a staff of 30,000 men is working over it. This atlas of popular institutions when completed promises to be in German as well as in foreign countries, one of those ideal scientific works, remarkable for comprehensiveness and the long view of things taken in them, which the poor war-worn Germany may well be proud to call its own speciality.

The lure of distant lands and waters which has always exercised powerful influence on German imagination is strikingly exemplified in the devotion of the German people to the study of the foreign peoples, languages and countries. Thus by the side of Germanic philology there grew up, partly simultaneously and partly a little later, English, Romanic, Slavic, Semitic, and Aryan philology along with Sinology, some of which owe their very origin and development to the activities of German scholars and others received in Germany such tender care as was denied them even in their land of origin. The same line of development may be perceived in all these branches of philology. The first stage was almost everywhere characterised by intensive linguistic researches and text criticism, which carried on a great deal of specialised researches on particular themes, possible only through a silent but tenacious asceticism, but which also sometimes floundered in their own meshes being never able to rise above this specialisation. The great masters of this period dissected every individual problem into its different component parts and they served the cause of learning absolutely for its own sake. The state of German learning in this field had undergone a radical change in post-war time. Linguistics and textual criticism does not enjoy much attention any longer, the

scholars have turned their attention to the purely literary and cultural side of it; the languages of the ancient and the middle ages have been left to themselves while the modern languages and living dialects are being investigated with unprecedented vigour and enthusiasm. Now the method is just the opposite—from many to one or from analysis to synthesis. Every branch of philology is evincing this change of outlook typical of the present age. Only English philology still shows any resolution to resist this spirit of the age, but it too will have to submit at last, for the younger generation is already in revolt and is going over to the treatment of literaray and cultural problem even though they have none to guide them. Romanic philology has long since surrendered to this new spirit, so that in the Universities of Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, etc., philologists have been replaced by literary scholars above all by literary historians. Sinology holds a remarkable position in this field. It has no brilliant philological or linguistic achievement to its credit. It is wholly dominated by the new mode of thinking, specialists and their works on minute details have no place in it. Comprehensive studies are its speciality and the historical treatment of Chinese literature, culture and mode of thinking are the most popular subjects of study in this branch of philology. The danger of being lost in the details of specialised researches has given way to the other danger of minimising such labour. The right path lies here certainly in the golden mean.

The old love of learning has not left the German people. With unexampled heroism and tenacious vitality, it has preserved and further enriched its great heritage of learning in an age of cruel hardships which have shaken to its very foundations the edifice of its material existence. On every hand we find new changes and new developments, everywhere signs of new life. The new generations are bursting through the old ideas and conquering for itself new fields of activity. Many a thing will perhaps be dragged low from a high pedestal, but it is necessary, for without burying at least a part of the past it is impossible to pave the way

to greater ideals for future. But above all we shall welcome the dawn of that change in the midst of this changing world of present German learning—which alone signifies more than all these multifarious changes—the change from the worship of matter to that of the spirit.

RICHARD MAI

HOW CAN THEY KNOW ?

How can they know, who only dwell
In cold grey cities made by man,
Aught of the savage ecstasy
Of far horizons; deep blue skies;
Trees and grass incredibly green;
Blooms rioting in flaming hue?
Birds they never heard of fly free
And sing their wild songs, ignorant
Of cages and the muted voice
Of creatures in captivity.
How can they know, who never saw
The Indian moon swing radiantly
To join the star's processional
And march on night's empurpled plain;
Who never heard the jungle's call,
Or passion in a drum's deep throb;
Who never felt the surge of soul
At sight of the Eternal Snows
In India's mighty Himalayas,
Soaring in beauty to the skies ?
How can they know, who never gazed
On Bengal's wide and spacious plains;
On lush rice in the paddy-fields;
On lordly phalanxes of palms;
On miles of teeming fecund soil,
Rejuvinated in the Rains;
Who never felt the sun's hot kiss
Warming the heart with its wild fire.
Or all earth's magic and its bane
That haunts and hold me captive here ?

LILY S. ANDERSON

HENRIK IBSEN.[1]

PART V. THE APOTHEOSIS OF IBSENISM.

Four more of Ibsen's plays remain to be considered. The Grand Mandarins of criticism have told the world, again and again, that in these four plays a definite falling off in dramatic power—the power which had had its supremest distillation in '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*'—is only too clearly discernible. In a sense, of course, this is true : but the statement is apt to be highly misleading when not further governed by a qualifying gloss. If by dramatic essence is meant the perfect correlation of exciting bits of action and dialogue, moving, naturally and swiftly, through a crescendo of tense emotion, and breaking off at the appointed apex of tragedy or comic disillusionment—if, in other words, the presence of action, a very considerable measure of action, action that is perceptible to the naked eye, *physical* action, if the presence of such action is to be laid down as a hall-mark absolute of true dramatic power—then, certainly, '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*,' in their wonderful revivification of action and not alone of the disastrous workings of perverse, psychological idealisms, are greater than any other play that Ibsen wrote. But dramatic essence is not a commodity for the making of which—of even of the finest variety—is one only recipe. Action is but the bread drama feeds on : the impulsion of the underlying emotions and passions is the rare wine that imparts to drama its so superior and transcendent illumination. These prerequisites of all drama reveal themselves at their final stage as plot and characterisation : and the dramatist's power is measured more by the success he achieves in unrecognisably weilding these two aspects into an edifice of awe inspiring homogeneity than in his individual triumphs, however pre-eminent, in either plot-construction alone or character delineation. Hence was it that Dr. A. C.

[1] The rights of these articles are reserved by the author.—K.R.S.

Bradley placed such exceeding emphasis on his theory of 'character issuing in action,' and *vice-versa*, of 'action issuing in character.'

But what *is* action? The resourceful Mandarins have their pert answer ready: "the kind of stuff you find in Shakespeare, that is action." Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw, and of course Ibsen, have clung to conventions in dramatic technique far removed from those which the Elizabethan playwrights had known and abided by. With an easy satisfaction, therefore, would the traditionally minded critics dismiss the three of them, rather the last two of them (for Wilde, incomparable dramatist as he was, did not quite outgrow his boiling amateurishness) with but a nonchalant snigger that their plays are woefully lacking in action. However, the obstination of these giants and the unswerving enthusiasm of the inspired few have opened the eyes of millions to the greatness of their art, and now, strange to say, pontifical gentlemen find themselves, to their obscure chagrin, bringing out books of eulogy and, at times, in the course of their academical discussions, even drawing elaborately subtle distinctions between the dramatic art of Shaw and Ibsen on the one hand and of Shakespeare and Moliere on the other. Mr. Arnold Bennett has said somewhere that these wiseacres "ought to bind themselves by oaths never to say anything about any author who was not safely dead twenty years before they were born." Indeed, the cramping limitations of their intellect imperatively demand such a convenient ordinance. These unfortunate critics inaugurate their first recognition of a great author's emergence with uppish doubts of a not improbable 'early promise': anon, startled and thrown off their feet by some originality in the rising genius, they direct their steely batteries of criticism towards him, aiming at his instant annihilation. But they only catch a tartar and are much perturbed in the obscurities of their being: accordingly, they change their tactics, yielding to the pressure of cumulative circumstances, and now they view more favourably the new author's claims to greatness.

But they will yet differentiate: with a characteristically naive assumption of self-importance they will look enormously big and will presume that they can teach the new writer a thing or two, will advise a course of instruction under their lotus feet, will *guarantee* excellent results. Every new play from a dramatist, from one already *recognised* on all hands as one of the greatest to have ever lived, but the critics would raise the deafening shriek that here, at any rate, the grip of the dramatist on the rudimentary issues of his art is surely on the wane. And a year or so passes and with that their criticism: the dramatist reigns as supreme as ever in the imagination of all thoughtful people. Witness what Mr. Bernard Shaw said when asked about the adverse criticisms of the highbrow community on his very latest work, '*The Apple Cart.*' 'That is how they always begin their story' was, in effect, all that he said.

It may perhaps be strongly objected to that the foregoing remarks are out of place in an essay on Ibsen. The writer's point has been to do a little spade work the better to shew that no arbitrary standards and conventions of drama (equally true also of other types of literature) ought to be magnified into the Grand Decisive Factor in adjudging the intrinsic merit of a particular play. That there is less 'action' in Ibsen's plays than in Shakespeare's, is true: that, in the plays of Ibsen's last period, there is even less of 'action' than in the earlier plays, is true also. But it is now commonly realised that in '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*' the dramatic atmosphere is much more instinct with vitality than in, say, '*Lady Inger*' (certainly, a terrible play, *all* 'action') and at least as much as in '*Measure for Measure*' and '*King Lear.*' What then, is the true essence of drama? It would seem to be far less connected with the string of incidents, howsoever well-knit they may be but much more with the spiritual forces radiating from the play and reacting successfully upon the introspective mental organism of the spectator. This '*Antony and Cleopatra*', with its brilliant load of 'action', not more effectually brings about than the terribly colourless 'action' of '*Ghosts*'

and *'The Wild Duck.'* Shakespeare and Ibsen, after all, knew more about their craft than all the commentators and mandarins fused together: they knew, too, the times in which they lived and could trim their sails to the prevailing winds. It is a pious fiction that Shakespeare's plays were executed in their present cast just in minute concordance with the bent of his genius. Shakespeare had only too often to give way to popular agitation, had almost always to carve his dishes in such wise that the public may find them thoroughly full of relish. Levin Schucking and E. E. Stoll, two of the sanest of Shakespearean critics, have taken this as amounting almost to an axiom: hence little they find to wonder at when Shakespeare if so liberally obscene or scatters in his plays a profusion of thrills and murders and love-makings. The Elizabethan audience was far less introspective than the normal one of to-day: and, what was worse, the control that an Elizabethan audience had over the work of playwrights, of Shakespeare himself, was far more direct, decisive and all-embracing than when the phenomenon stood while Ibsen was revolving the problem of his plays in the pitiless pivot of his brain. Did Shakespeare really have any high opinion of Henry V? Certainly not: all the platitudinous pomposity of verse treasured up in that play was demanded by the hallowed Elizabethan audience and Shakespeare gave it in abundance. The very anachronisms, coarse joakes and sham heroics were an attempt of Shakespeare's to ensure the uninterrupted attendance of theatre—goers at 'the Globe' in those unfortunate days of the fiercest competition between the different theatres for the greedy gold of public confidence. Shakespeare's plays were fashioned not in the pure radiance and white heat of his genius but were ever hampered and warped by the oscillations of public opinion. That, even as they are, they are so inexpressibly grand, only bespeaks to the magnitude of Shakespeare's genius. Yet the point must be conceded that they form but a particular manifestation of dramatic power, nothing more.

Henrik Ibsen, on the other hand, was surrounded by a

changed and still rapidly changing world. Freedom of opinion had become no mere chimera inhabiting the vacuity of a dreamer's brain: it was something real, something deadly in earnest. And the public of later nineteenth century winked at a wider freedom in the choice of subjects and gladly swallowed every innovation in technique, every advance in stage craft. (The conservative few, with eyes in the back of their head, as Shaw would describe his 'second pioneer', of course raised their parrot cry till it choked them.) Working, then, in a comparatively more enlightened age, an age whose very predominance was due to its passion for introspection, Ibsen was able to discard those artificial trappings of drama that Shakespeare had perforce to utilise as stimulant, to coax the spectator's appreciation. In other words, Ibsen, relegated 'action' to a strictly subordinate place and with the steady growth of his fame and surer hold on the profundities of his art, reduced the 'action' of his earlier plays to their absolute minimum in the canvas of his last four plays. And this the Grand Mandarins, as I said at the outset, could not courageously swallow.

What had happened then ? In the plays of the last period —in '*The Master Builder*,' '*Little Eyolf*,' '*John Gabriel Borkman*,' and '*When We Dead Awaken*'—'action' figures less and less and comes down very near the vanishing point in the very last of the plays. But the plays, are they the less drenched in sheer tragic emotion ? the less successful in impinging on and causing perturbations within the mental fabric of the spectators? Not at all. These plays constitute great drama in its most fundamental sense, and no doubt. What, then, is the truth about the matter ? Simply this: Ibsen has substituted a rarefied form of action for the physical one—a form of 'action' which is one and indivisible and cannot be differentiated from character. There is no point now in speaking of action and character as separate entities, the one inevitably issuing from the other: here, it is a question of one entity and one alone, now striking against the membrane of your consciousness with force and violence, anon

coolly parading before your tranquil reason in the guise of character. What Einstein accomplished with Space and Time, had been done years ago, by Ibsen with regard to Action and Character. And the four marvels of the new art—it grows more marvellous with each succeeding play—of Ibsen's, are the four solid exhibits of the apotheosis of Ibsenism. It would be silly to think that a play that contains reading matter for a couple of hours only can be judged off-hand in as many minutes: those who come to scoff at Ibsen may well kneel long at the altar of Ibsenism with a view to a fuller understanding of the dramatist, and if still he should leave them cold, might it not be, even then that there may be something radically wrong about themselves? Would it, in any case, be too much to ask that they reserve their opinion till they have throughly explored the matter and are fiendishly certain of their ground? Enough of this, however: we proceed with the discussion of the plays.

In the four plays of Ibsen's final period of creative dramatic activity, the quintessence of Ibsenism does indeed forge its ultimate fulfilment. An amazing originality in technique, a wondrous fertility in the choice of themes, an extraordinary intuition in the vivid presentation of the material: these are factors inherent in the mould of these plays. With the possible exception of '*Little Eyolf*' these plays more or less conform to a definite formula, a formula that indicates with sufficient accuracy the limits within which the impetus of the interactions issuing directly from the tragic characters has gruesome display. A bid for an idealist achievement; a brief spell of power and of shadowy security; an imperceptible but sure disintergration and decay of this sham achievement; a sudden, arbitrary impact, yet conscious in its purpose *viz.*, the resuscitation of lost splendours; the climax, the grim struggle and fateful agony of desperate human hearts, the culminating fifth act of the tragedy: there we have the rough and ready formula ('*Little Eyolf*' does not quite fit into it) for the '*The Master Builder*' '*John Gabriel*' and '*When We Dead Awaken.*' Within this circumspect formula

Ibsen plays an astounding variation in details, kaleidoscopically rich in their symmetric inevitability. The plays do not begin, as do Shakepeare's, with an elaborate development and unfolding of the plot. They are merely concerned with the spectral pathos of the spiritual crisis, the simple fifth act of the tragedy. The first three variables of the formula do not figure in the actual framework: they are taken for granted, when given out bit by bit, in the retrospective recitals at the various stages of the play, and, during the culminating height of tragedy, are dragged into the meeting ground of warring destinies, invisible yet, but full of a dire potency. It is always the fourth variable that is responsible for the swift promulgation of action and this part of the play scarcely occupies more than the first few pages. The rest are wholly taken up with microscopically depicting the several heart-rending crises, the lightning chess play of the dark issues of destiny, the peeps into the infinity of weird poetry, the killing inarticulate oppression of life's many ideals and their vengeful roll call of destruction. Consequently, these last plays of Ibsen's are brimful of concentrated drama: the past, the present and the future thrillingly commingled and the entire tragedy represented as being sparklingly implicit in the end. It may well be maintained that most of Ibsen's plays are really concentrated monuments of crises: however, there is a vital variation in the spiritual themes made manifest in the plays produced in the different periods. In the earlier period, Ibsen, while concentrating on the present, amply looks far behind in recapitulating the divergent threads of action and character and bringing them into one focus of tragic intensity. In the great plays of the middle period, Ibsen's concentration on the present, exploration of the past and dashing peeps into the future are welded together with the sensational clarity of genius. In the plays of the last period, a new process has set in: the vivid fixation of the living crisis is part and potent but not extensive; and the meaning glances at the panorama of the past are disquieting and lacerating but neither throbbing with life nor

pregnant in their self-sufficiency: it is the future that matters and it is a future full of challenge and exceedingly perfidious. In '*The Master Builder*' and its successors, there is the incessant thought of the morrow but a thought nurtured in the clouded brain of the dreamer who gloats over the past and would find in the future a brilliant reflection of the recollected past: there is, too, an eternal attempt at the formulation of a workable philosophy for the future. The present itself is extremely shadowy: it is a dying, dead present. The characters dimly look forward to a future clothed transcendentally with all the vanished splendours of the past. They are no better than unsubstantial shadows wooing alternately the beautiful past and the possibly still more beautiful future. They are one in their delusion: they have no idea that for all practical purposes they are indeed dead, that for them there could be no resurrection. They like Gray's 'favourite cat drowned in a tub of gold fishes,' linger long at the brim watching with eager devouring gaze the goldfishes at the bottom, know not that the reflection is not the reality and with an intrepid movement, mad for their prey, are themselves delivered quick from their mortifying selves. The atmosphere of the plays is literally fed up with the illusion of the day that is no more, but midst all the hoary repulsiveness of the actual present, is childishly expected to transmute itself to its original grandeur. In short, in these four plays, there is little of the 'present' and less of the seething, vigorous 'life': the future is dreamily, magnificiently, picturesquely imagined, conned, turned into poetry and lived happily in the impregnable airy castles of the imagination: but the past gives nourishment to this imagination and enables it to soar the higher and to construct the castles in its own image; till in the end, an ungenerous item of the present impudently and rudely shakes the edifices and everything crashes to the ground and the very groans and the whispers are no more heard. With this cross manipulation of the spirit technique (if there be any such pharse) veering right about the cherished themes of the early period, Ibsen's

art had finally come full circle. We will develop this point further in the concluding paper.

'*The Master Builder*,' then, is the first of the four plays in which a new departure, undreamt of by the most professional of prophets, is, perhaps fully consciously, undertaken. For one thing, Ibsen's chief characters are no more as serenely in possession of sanity as in the earlier plays: they are dreamers, poets, blind self-deceivers: they are tasting of the reminiscent glamour of the bright sun in the absurd unreality of their sleeping visions: they have been mystically transmuted, thanks to their unflinching adherance to their pet idealism, into individuals about to cross the borderland of Bedlam. Halvard Solness, the Master Builder, is a week and an ineffectual personage, ridiculously vacillating and vain, and perceptibly failing in mind and body: none has gauged this with more sober certitude than Aline, his wife. Thirteen odd years must be swept back if one would get a clear idea of the insufferable sense of importance of the present Halbard Solness and of the incomprehensibly vague docility of Aline. Plainly, Solness had not been all of a sudden projected into the world as a Master Builder: Time and the beaming good luck of the allocation of choice circumstances had told in his favour. He had begun life as an insignificant boy from a country village and in one of those surprises of his life had found himself married to the loving Aline. Her old castle stood on an extensive area and every inch therein, every relic and tiny lump of rubbish in the castle, was sacrosanct to Aline: but in the obscure depths of Solness's mind were strange and dubious projects. A clean demolition of the dilapidated building and erection on its ruins of a row of villas, were the feats that persistently danced in the Master Builder's visions. But he knew that Aline would have none of it: hence, he left matters to take their own course, which, he felt convinced, could only be to his own advancement. Though well aware of a crack in the chimney, he held his tongue and only thanked his fates for this timely godsend. After all, God Almighty was fashioning all things

fair: Solness would be out, wife and children out too, the household hearth blazing, the chimney accidentally catching fire and then—crash timber, fall roof, and the robber's castle in an instant (Blessed be Providence!) a heap of ashes! Even so resplendently rosy was the vision alluring that the good Halvard Solness found himself hourly toying with. But there was a hitch in the plan nevertheless. At dead of night, quite unexpectedly, the castle caught fire and the providentially executed chimney crack had nothing whatever to do with the fire. The mother and her two dear children had to be hurried out of the house in great agitation and the little ones never recovered from the shock. Poor Aline was inconsolable: she was buried midst the ruins of the family castle. Her fleshy form, however, still roamed restlessly in her husband's visible rounds—a mere ghost in search of the nine lovely dolls burnt down with many another family treasure in the disastrous fire. Incidentally, Aline is the faithful wife also and with a weird melancholy she oscillates between solicitude for the welfare of her husband and killing remorse for the nine lovely dolls.

But automatically with this disfigurement in the structure of Aline's mental organism had arisen splendid villas jubilant on the wasted family enclosures: and Halvard Solness was a mad man, known far and wide as the Master Builder, and at the very forefront of the profession. He got fat contracts for building houses, of churches even, and made money in ever-increasing rates. Solness was an artist to whom (this aspect is further explored by Ibsen in his study of Professor Rubek in 'When We Dead Awaken') his art was more than other things. He passionately exclaims to Dr. Hardel: "Only think to be Solness, the Master Builder! Halvard Solness! What could be more delightful?" Yes, Halvard Solness, much as he is devoted to his wife, is a being apart, a spiritual constituent of his own art. He would do anything to attain pre-eminence in it: he would do anything to retain his pre-eminent position in the profession once that is secured: and his

soul would unreservedly hover in homage around any person who could love and revere the artist in him rather than the mere flabbiness of flesh parading as Halvard Solness.

He was almost a happy man: how he wished he were perfectly so! There was one little gnawing disability that harassed him and gave him no peace of mind. The poor man was helpless at any considerable height from the ground: yet, once, urged on by the divine refulgence of the splendid devotion to his art, he did ascend a high church tower he had built, and cheered and maddened by the enthusiasm of a little girl down below, Miss Hilda, he but miraculously escaped a pulverising fall. In the banquet that followed, he met the girl in her fascinating white frocks and, momentarily bewitched, told her that she was a little princess and that he would come back again in ten years, like a troll, and carry her off to a kingdom which he should then buy for her, and make her its wonderful queen.

Years passed and Miss Hilda was forgotten though *she* did not forget,—the imaginative castle builder that she was. Aline's melancholy deepened into a fixed gloom and Solness thought that it was all for the death of the little ones. Remorse and the increasing effervescence of the searchings of heart left him no sobriety in thought or action, and without, as yet, admitting it to himself, he found himself declining in health and losing his grip over the grim forces of actuality. Others in the heyday of youth and vigour, the competent younger generation, especially as typified in his assistant Ragnar, were imperiously knocking at his door and demanding his retirement from the profession. But Solness was Master Builder or nothing: he ever would stamp his feet and declare, "I'll never give way to anybody! Never of my own free will. Never in this world will I do that!" Hence with a blindly monstrous unscrupulosity he put down Ragnar year after year, made Ragnar's father disbelieve in him, made him distrust his own considerable abilities. Fate too played into his unscrupulous hands. Young Kaia, nearly betrothed to Ragnar, paid a

chance visit to the Master Builder's office and conceived an over-mastering passion for him. Quick to understand the situation, Solness eagerly spread his trap and caught Ragnar and Kaia with malignant triumph. He fanned Kaia's fervour with soft words and seeming endearments but sternly forbade her to break off her betrothal to Ragnar. She was given a clerk's post and perpetually chained to a desk in the Solness office. Ragnar, madly infatuated with Kaia, had no mind to break with Solness, for, that would have meant separation from Kaia as well. Thus was the Master Builder's incredible triangle drawn with artistic nicety: Solness, hot in mad, desires to keep Ragnar with him at any cost, Ragnar mindful of Kaia and her only, and she, poor deluded creature, nurturing the rosiest pictures of her middle aged lover, the far famed Master Builder.

In my general analysis of the subject matter of the plays earlier in this paper I had occasion to speak of "a sudden, arbitrary impact, conscious yet in its purpose, *viz.*, resuscitation of lost splendours," as the fourth stage in the evolution of an Ibsen theme in its final manifestation. Yes, we have now come to that stage in the story of the Master Builder and with this sudden impact, as prelude to the rapid unravelling of the crisis, the play opens.

Ten years to a day have passed since Miss Hilda had driven Solness mad when high on the Lysanger Church tower. A new house has been constructed and next evening they are to hang up the wreath on the very pinnacle of the commanding tower. All that Aline has just now to do is to think about shifting to their inviting residence. But Aline is a dead woman, a mere ghost, motherly, watching with reverent solicitude over that other ghost, her husband. Her talent for building up the souls of little children, "in perfect balance and in noble and beautiful forms," is lodged in her useless—has long had to be, even so, that Halvard Solness may force his ambition to its highest realisation. Now he bitterly bewails his lot, yet

only in so far as it reverberates on his own happiness: "the troll within me has darwn all the lifeblood out of her. ... And now she is dead...for my sake. And I am chained alive to a dead woman. I—I who cannot live without joy in *life*."

Precisely that which the Master Builder forgets is that he has no more *life*: only a short of faded existence, a long drawn out trot in the valley of the dark shadow. The situation is like this. Solness spends hours with Kaia, making her believe that he is in love with her in very sooth: Aline is troubled but the half demented Solness pretends "to find a sort of salutary self-torture in allowing Aline to do me an injustice." Rangar is swimming in the sea of indecision, at one time deciding to go his own way in the profession without interminably playing second fiddle to the ungrateful Solness, but at the very next moment, realising with a pang that life without Kaia (who of course will not leave Solness's service for all the world) will be an impossibility. His father, Old Brovik, is flaggelated in his declining years by the one bitter thought of his son's perpetual dependence on Solness. At the commencement of the play, we find Old Brovik making one more earnest appeal to Solness to set Ragnar on his legs as an independent builder. All Solness has to do is to approve of certain drawings that Ragnar has prepared about the proposed villa at lovestrand and let him have that building commission. But Solness is helplessly obdurate: he cannot, he will not do that! He is what he is and he, Master Builder, so ridiculously jealous of his pre-eminent position, cannot by one poor scruple change the obstinacy of his nature! The unhappy father returns home utterly disappointed.

The scene is set: enter Miss Hilda Wangel. There is no nonsense about her mission: she has come to claim her promised kingdom, now that, to a minute, the pre-ordained time-limit was over. With little difficulty she makes Solness remember all the things that happened on the fateful day ten years ago, and in kindling in his heart a new glow that is soon to blaze forth in

extravagant fury. Next morning Old Brovik has a serious relapse and Ragnar pathetically requests the Master Builder to write a few words of commendation on one of the drawings that he may produce it for a doting father's dying gleam of consolation and hope. But Solness cannot do a thing that is beyond his power, —no, Old Brovik must really manage to die without any such satisfaction. Hilda's glorification of the Master Builder receives in this brutal refusal a clumsy shock : once alone with him, she tells him how ugly a thing he had done. She argues, she hedges, she rages, she threatens. At last the Master Builder, in the firm clasp of this dæmonic woman is persuaded to write on the drawings—very nicely and cordially—and to despatch the portfolio to the dying father. And at the same moment, he disentangles both Ragnar and Kaia from the intricate note of his thraldom. All the same father Brovik dies unreconciled with his persistent doubts : too late the annotated portfolio reaches him : one more of the ironic twists of fate !

The ceremony of hoisting the wreath on the tower is to be performed in a few hours. There is the picturesque bustle of excitement and expectation. Miss Hilda has waited long, she can wait no more ! The kingdom, her promised kingdom, must instantly be hers ! Her desperately prolonged longing must be satisfied at last ! She must be given that which was promised her, which is more to her than her very life. "And what is that?" asks Solness bewildered. She answers : "the longing to see you great. To see you with a wreath in your hand, high, up upon a church tower !" A little later he assures her : "this evening, then, I will hang up the wreath—Princes Hilda." And sure enough the Master Builder means what he says—though it is only too true a fact that he had ever avoided, except on that solitary occasion at Lysangar, climbing up even a paltry bit of scaffolding. Suspecting his intentions, Mrs. Aline moves heaven and earth to avert a catastrophe : however, Dr. Herdal's assurances and precautions, Mrs. Aline's irrepressible misgivings, Ragnar's suppressed raillery and scorn, all commingle

and give way before the dæmonic urge of Princess Hilda. Solness goes up indeed and climbs and climbs. Miss Hilda is in mad frenzy, provokingly jubilant: she sees her Idol great and free again: she hears mighty song, she sees him waving his hat: is it a vision amazing or a mere waking dream? She snatches a white shawl and shrieks with wild intensity "Hurrah, Hurrah, for Master Builder Solness!" The many ladies present take up the frantic refrain and very chaos is let loose upon the impossible scene. Suddenly the vision splendid alters and, swiftly disintegrated, scatters wide the many fragments of the tragedy. The Master Builder falls down dead with a loud crash, Mrs. Solness totters and swoons, Ragnar tauntingly exclaims, "So after all, he could'nt do it," and Miss Hilda, still petrified and spellbound in her triumph, eloquently flashes forth the killing retort: "But he mounted right to the top. And heard songs in the enraptured air. Frightfully, frightfully thrilling!"

(To be continued)

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

A STRANGER TO MYSELF

I.

I am a stranger to myself—
Ah! what was I before my birth,
And what shall I be when this frame
Is one with what they call this earth?
I ask the wise "what am I"?
For me and all what bears a name
And not called I in name or thought,
Tho' I and all regard as same—
Was ouce call'd earth and then called food·
By wondrous magic is called I
And yet the truth is nof concealed
The part expelled's nor I nor my.
The sages say of what I'm now
No speck no spot wilt e'sr endure
Beyond the circuit seventh of sun
Xet, I am I—what magic, sure!
The I of day was dung before,
And will be loathsome dung again
And may be worm or may be sage
—The wheel of life benumbas the brain—
O, let me find in truth what's I.
Not rest be mused with I in thought,
Draw up the curtain of my mind
And free me from my weary lot.

II.

In mother's womh or when asleep
Thou thinkest what thou art
And art thou not thou, tho' unthought—
All or naught—ask thy heart.
Of there and here, of then and now
The thought forget and thou art thou.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

II

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF "ABSENTEEISM" AND "MIGRATION" IN INDIAN LABOUR

The feature of monthly incidence may also be studied by expressing the ratio of the mean rate of absenteeism in each industry to the mean rate of absenteeism in the aggregate of all labour month by month. On this basis the computed values (expressed as percentages) are entered in Table VIII from which we can see how the several industries are ranked in the different months of the year and what displacements there are in their relative ranks. Generally speaking passing from the worst to the comparatively lighter rate of absenteeism, the order is E(D),

TABLE VIII.

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June
E(D)	147	150	146	153	162	148	152	151	145	144	146	140
E(W)	140	126	125	134	137	140	138	132	139	137	137	144
T(S)	124	119	121	122	124	135	135	134	134	150	147	143
T(B)	122	129	134	131	106	94	112	106	120	106	110	111
E(P)	89	90	91	100	106	94	99	93	98	87	95	86
T(GB)	80	118	104	85	77	78	79	92	93	102	90	81
E(K)	76	76	80	74	80	93	84	77	74	74	71	78
T(A)	32	35	36	39	41	37	34	35	30	29	26	27
T(V)	10	17	19	26	21	10	24	39	28	18	20	23

E(W), T(S), T(B), E(P), T(GB), E(K), T(A), T(V) which is more or less consistent in every month. Thus out of 12, T(A) and T(V) occupy their ranks 11 times, E(D), T(B), E(P) and E(K) occupy their ranks 9 times over, and none less than 5 times.

These statistics however fail to give any clue in regard to the regularity of attendance and when absence occurs, its duration, or the interval after which it is again repeated in individual employees. This is an unfortunate omission and all the information that we have in regard to this important aspect of the question is that in Ahmedabad, Bombay and Sholapur, respectively, 56%, 48% and 31% of the operatives worked without any absence in August, 1926.[1]

Having now discussed absenteeism in relation to extent, incidence and variation, and regretted that lack of suitable material for analysing the feature of 'duration of absenteeism,' we will now consider, as far as may be possible, the causes and consequences of such absenteeism as is found. The commonly understood factors contributing to this absenteeism have already been briefly enumerated. It only remains to examine those which can be tested from a purely statistical point of view; and we proceed now to determine what correlation there exists between this factor and a few representative, economic, seasonal and psychological factors which could be statistically estimated *viz.*, (1) local health conditions, (2) incidence of stoppages of work through trade disputes, (3) cost of living and (4) departures from factory areas. We are again confined to the statistics of Bombay city inasmuch as even the scanty material that we have is limited to that city.

As an index of the health of the town of Bombay, the monthly indices of "fever admissions to hospitals" given in Dr. Bentley's Report on Malaria in Bombay, are utilised. As an index of the stoppages of work through trade disputes the monthly indexes obtained in another paper by K. B. Madhava and

[1] Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1930, p, 897.

V. N. Poornapregna, are reproduced as well also as the indexes of certain coastal monthly departures from Bombay, discussed at greater length in the subsequent part of this paper, are utilised. A monthly index of cost of living from the data published from time to time by the Bombay Labour Office has been also specially determined for this purpose. These essential statistics together with the indices just obtained for Bombay Textiles (and for wider comparison, for Bombay Engineering workshops) are reproduced in table IX.

TABLE IX.

Variable	Abbreviation	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Textile worker in Bombay	T(B)	91	87	109	98	104	100	98	104	118	114	96	81
Engineering workshop	E(W)	95	91	107	107	110	110	95	86	93	100	105	102
Fever admissions	F	84	72	80	82	86	86	102	119	124	143	123	99
Trade disputes or strikes	S	125	93	108	124	111	81	93	90	69	114	96	95
Exodus out of Bombay	E	135	150	172	38	21	33	83	106	102	124	113	123
Cost of lving	C	57	57	59	58	56	54	57	52	51	53	53	55

In every case the correlation co-efficients have been computed first by pairing off the indices in identical month, secondly by pairing off the index of absenteeism of each month with the index of the other factor for the succeeding month (distinguished as +1), and, lastly by pairing off with the index of the preceding month (distinguished by the suffix −1). The results as obtained are furnished in Table X.

TABLE X.

F	F_{+1}	F_{-1}	S	S_{+1}	S_{-1}	E	E_{+1}	E_{-1}	C	C_{+1}	C_{-1}
T(B) 0·509	0·677	+ very small	−0·173	− very small	−0·428	−0·101	−0·390	−0·132	−0·390	−0·533	− very small
E(W) −0·278	−0·353	− very small	0·308	0·250	0·323	0·447	−0·659	− very small	0·316	0·450	0·213

In review of this part of the work it is to be stated with much regret that it has generally proved abortive either owing to the obscuring of the true relationships in the heterogeneity of the statistics, or perhaps owing to the uncertainty of proceeding to the causes from consequences. However,

(1) as fever rates in Bombay increase, absenteeism, at least in textiles, tends to increase, and this tendency manifests itself with greater force with the factor F_{+1} implying that admissions into the hospital follow (rather than precede) increased absenteeism;—but the negative values of the co-efficients in Engineering trades at once throw doubt over this, otherwise very remarkable verification of a commonly recognised feature!

(2) as strikes tend to increase, absenteeism, at least in E(W), tends to increase and this tendency manifests itself with slightly greater force with S_{-1} implying that stoppages in the preceding month on account of strike continue to manifest in increased absenteeism in the month following as well—but this time the textile trades seem determined to break company and

prevent us from realising a verification of a very remarkable feature;

(3) as regards correlations with cost of living, almost similar conclusions with almost the same obstinence from Textiles could be repeated ;

(4) in the correlations with exodus from Bombay, both Engineering and Textiles seem to cast off their hostility and unite in pointing out that just preceding increased activity in the exodus from Bombay, absenteeism would tend to diminish—a conclusion which may either be correct as implying that workers try to earn as much as they can before they leave Bombay, or which may very well be rejected as not being in conformity with certain experience.

As stated already we hesitate to press any of these tentative findings which are mere explanations of the results arrived at, rather than conclusions enunciated.

A general explanation of absenteeism must however be sought for in conditions of the work relative to the place of his work, and the profit and treatment awarded to him in his work. This brings us directly to the physical, mental or material reaction that the work has on the worker, and the most significant discoveries have been made correlating the environment in factories, such as ventilation, humidification, etc., on the fatigue, health, or inclination of workers which generally lead him to leave his post of duty. The report on " Humidification in Indian Cotton Mills " by Mr. T. Maloney, lately Advisor on Humidification to the Government of India, definitely establishes [1]

(*i*) that conditions in cotton mills generally, and weaving sheds particularly, are worse than in other mills and workshop ;

1 Extracted from the Bombay Labour Gazette,
October, 1923, p. 32.
November, 1923, p. 29.
March, 1923, p. 34.

(*ii*) the high rate of sickness is September and October in Bombay;

(*iii*) the effects of atmospheric conditions on (output and) fatigue;

(*iv*) also that the effect of artificial and external conditions is disastrous to the physical comfort of those inside the department;

(*v*) that conditions in spinning rooms are very easily liable to atmospheric reactions.

And it is not surprising therefore that at the end of a day's work many of the weavers complain that they have no energy left, have no great desire for food and need only drink and rest which he has, if need be, by absenteeism. The report of the lady doctor appointed by the Bombay Government in connection with the maternity benefits to women workers [1] tells the same tale in regard to conditions of work, ailments and absenteeism. In this connection it is interesting to note—partly to ascertain the contribution to absenteeism by women—how long before and after delivery women do absent themselves.[2] Out of 183 cases studied the absence before delivery was in 8 cases not even one day, in 14 cases between 1 to 8 days and in 6 cases 15 days and in all the others there being longer absence; on the other hand the absence after delivery was in 8 cases 12 to 15 days. Some information in regard to the tendency to absent from work may also be derived from the results of an inquiry on the " Length of service of Cotton Mill workers " in Bombay city conducted by the Bombay Labour Office.[3] It is found there that 52·3 per cent. of the workers have served in more than one mill and surely the transfer from one to another mill must have been attendant with an absenteeism small or large. Likewise as many as 74 per cent. of the workers gave as causes " bad

[1] Bombay Labour Gazette, September, 1922, p. 31.

[2] Bombay Labour Gazette, December, 1924, p. 384. An interesting account of Dr. Gellhorn's investigations on the general effect on health of women workers, on the regularity of their work, is given in Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1925, p. 935.

[3] Bombay Labour Gazette, January, 1930, p. 45.

treatment," "low wages for bettering prospects," "absence due to illness," "insufficient work," "place of work being distant from residence," etc., in fact all other than "for going to native place," "for leaving the mills;" and there must have been absenteeism while the workers were compelled to look for employment in other mills. In view of these and similar circumstances we are led to think that there is great truth in the simple statement of the Manager of the General Motors in Bombay, quoted in the beginning of this paper, and that that goes far accounting for absenteeism.

But, what are the remedies? "It is not easy" we read in the Report of the Indian Textile Board, "to suggest any method by which the percentage of absenteeism can be reduced."[1] The consequences of this state of affairs are wide spread and they obviously reflect both upon the industry and the worker—to the industry an inefficient worker, and to the worker an insufficient earning. It is, therefore, necessary that efforts for minimising absenteeism must be made both by the workers and by the employers. The Tariff Board examined, however, various methods that have been made to reduce the amount of absenteeism. One method (actually adopted in a mill in Bombay) was "for the management to examine each case of absenteeism and to refuse employment for a few days when it was found that the operative's absence has not been due to sickness or domestic reasons. The mill which has followed this system has reduced its absenteeism from 15 to 1 per cent. and has thus been able to dispense entirely with the 'badli' system." Another system was to keep a certain number of spare hands up to about 10 per cent. in each department, except in the weaving department, on regular pay rate so that in case of short or unavoidable absenteeism, the industry may not suffer with an inefficient casual worker. This in effect comes to 'holidays with pay'—a scheme which has

[1] Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Enquiry) 1927, p. 135.

now come much to the forefront in the rationalisation of industry in various countries. Further the following results of a survey by the United States' Women's Bureau [1] shed light on the nature of the relation between the length of the hours of work, and lost time both on account of personal illness and through other causes :—

Absenteeism among

Mills working	Men.	Women.	Sexes together.
Less than 10 hours a day	10·6	16·3	13·2
10 hours or more a day	19·2	25·6	21·7

Personal illness accounted for 23 per cent. of lost time. As possibly the experience in each mill might vary intensive investigations by the authorities in each mill in regard to this factor of duration of work, and others of an allied nature such as double shift, night work, holidays, might lead them to work out remedies along the lines most suitable for their individual conditions.

In other ways as well, by affording facilities for amusements and recreation, for shopping, medical help and things like that, and even for communication with their village homes, would absenteeism be greatly reduced. Mr. A. C. (now Sir Atul Chatterjea) speaking at the Indian Industrial Welfare Conference in Bombay in April, 1922, emphasised that in view of frequent absence and constant return to their village homes "the need for welfare work was much greater for industrial workers in India than in Western countries." [2] Obviously such efforts cannot but bind a workman to his work within regularity, efficiency and devotion.

We may now consider what has been termed the migratory character of Indian Industrial labour. Dealing with the con-

[1] B. L. G., Aug., 1927, p. 1096.
[2] B. L. G., April, 1922, p. 15.

ditions in Bombay city which are more or less in evidence in all other parts of the country, the Bombay Government Review of Labour Situation in Bombay[1] remarks, "Industrial labour in Bombay city is largely drawn from the surrounding districts who are attracted to the city by the higher wages paid there as compared with agricultural wages and also because there is not enough work in the Moffusal to support them. The bulk of the immigrants come from the Ratnagiri District,..... In a recent enquiry made by the Bombay Labour Office into the length of service of mill workers, which covered about 1,400 mill hands, it was found that not one of them had been born in Bombay city, 63 per cent. were born in the Konkan and 27 per cent. in the Deccan, the remainder coming from different parts of the country. The labour force in Bombay is therefore not permanent in the sense that the workers have permanently settled in the city where they follow industrial or other occupations and have lost all contact with their villages. On the contrary contact with the village is closely maintained. The family itself remains domiciled in the Moffusal and the centre of the family life is in the ancestral village, to which the women folk return to bear their children and the menfolk when old age or disability comes to them, or when death causes a vacancy in the agricultural workers in the family." In pursuance of this position and in answer to an enquiry from Sir Alexander Murray during the sittings in Bombay of the Royal Commission on Labour as to whether approximate figures for the yearly ebb and flow of population into Bombay from the Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts and Janjira State, could be procured, the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence undertook, on behalf of the Bombay Labour Office, to collect information on the points raised. We are informed that the figures were required in particular for the working class population, so as to get some idea of the extent to which the industrial labour of Bombay is

[1] Reprinted in Bombay Labour Gazette, Feb. 1930, p. 560-576.

derived from the Konkan coast and what special importance if any, could be attached to the Ratnagiri District as a source of labour supply for Bombay. The Labour Office after a detailed consideration of the available railway facilities in the areas concerned, and the comparative costs of railway and steamer travel, came to the conclusion :

"(*a*) that the facilities for railway travel were few;

(*b*) that this means of conveyance in most cases involves a good deal of inconvenience, hardship and travel either on foot or by some form of local conveyance to the nearest railway station (*e.g.*, Belgaum or Kolhapur); and

(*c*) that the journey would be so much more costly than the voyage by sea, as to make it unlikely that the railway would be used by the working classes, quite apart from its inconvenience."

It was therefore decided to collect the statistics of the number of passengers moved between Bombay and the districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba including the Janjira State, month by month. It is these figures, reproduced in table XI, that are analysed with a view to determine the indices of seasonal variation in these movements, particularly as from the chart given on page 719 of Bombay Labour Gazette—March, 1930 ; it was evident that there were pronounced seasonal fluctuations.

TABLE XI.

To Bombay.	Kolaba + Janjira			Ratnagiri District.		
	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
March	29835	25190	29237	51354	32300	46765
April	23124	26988	24986	37321	56033	35837
May	26635	25462	23907	38156	44423	23627
June	15662	14187	12877	1874	1336	444
July	8742	9802	6716	420	353	139
Aug.	16248	18541	13407	794	1640	213
Sep.	19198	20174	15114	16440	25406	6685
Oct.	17247	18726	22758	35231	32441	48973
Nov.	21790	17583	22758	45843	30678	42597
Dec.	23789	24957	24111	47839	39097	33649
Jan.	25103	23999	24685	38200	30006	30094
Feb.	21570	24586	14565	31837	26241	15184
From Bombay.						
March	19104	25297	22722	29736	54168	35397
April	23380	21726	25357	41000	42212	44600
May	25360	24911	26364	50061	52022	53250
June	15221	14711	12382	2857	3195	1494
July	9804	9324	6394	1062	734	328
Aug.	12197	19248	10046	1125	1646	453
Sep.	19995	15953	17920	17112	22389	15028
Oct.	19848	20761	16264	33542	30507	17192
Nov.	19669	16522	17675	32752	26006	21160
Dec.	25005	23806	22030	36447	30932	26648
Jan.	20237	23164	18873	35311	34619	23996
Feb.	20198	22316	21075	36677	38181	41776

The calculations were performed by combining the figures for Janjira State with those for Kolaba as that State is practically surrounded by this district and it is known that passengers board indifferently from the ports in either place. The results are given therefore separately for this combined area and for Ratnagiri District and also for the aggregate movement, distinguishing of course the inflow into Bombay from the exodus out of that city. Two different methods have been utilised in the computation of these indices—the first being the method of arithmetic averages and the second the more laborious method of link relatives associating each month with the preceding month ;[1] and the average of these two have been taken to represent the final indices of the monthly fluctuations. In view of the pressure on space, the large tables are not set forth in detail here, but only the final numbers are set down in table XII. The period investigated was the 36 months from 1926, March to 1929, February.

[1] For details of these methods, see F. C. Mill's " Statistical Methods," Chapter VIII.

TABLE XII.

Index numbers of seasonal variations.

		March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
To Bombay.	Kolaba + Janjira	139·1	118·7	119·7	68·8	40·5	78·7	94·2	95·5	100·7	116·9	122·0	105·3
	Ratnagiri	175·7	159·3	133·8	5·5	1·8	3·1	58·7	138·7	141·7	151·2	126·5	104·0
	Aggregate	155·0	138·7	123·0	33·5	18·6	36·8	77·7	125·2	126·4	137·4	124·5	103·2
From Bombay.	Kolaba + Janjibar	115·5	123.0	131·6	74·1	45·1	0·9	102·1	102·7	97·9	124·7	106·5	105.9
	Ratnagiri	151·4	177·7	218·2	12·3	3·3	4·4	69·8	100·0	98·7	117·7	112·7	133·6
	Aggregate	135·0	149·9	172·0	38·3	21·1	32·6	83·0	106·3	101·8	124·4	113·1	122·6

The official report draws attention to

(1) a consistency from year to year in the aggregate figures both for inflow and for exodus;

(2) the low figures for June to August occurring in the inflow into Bombay, explaining it to the cutting off of steamer communication during the monsoon;

(3) in regard to exodus from Bombay, the progressive increase up to the month of May when the highest value is reached together with the precipitous decline during the period June to August, repeating after which the former tendency to increase, explaining as before mostly on account of monsoon interference.[1]

But it is necessary to draw attention to the following additional features revealed by this analysis. Diagram 4 drawn to reproduce the above figures of aggregate movements enable easy study.

(*i*) There is a slight (declining) secular trend (—257 in the case of inflow and (—171 in the case of exodus) observable in the aggregate figures, which has been allowed for in the calculations—a feature probably reflecting the dull industrial conditions during the period.

(*ii*) July marks the minimum point keeping the figures for June on one side and August on the other about twice this level.

In regard to the inflow into Bombay the recovery in September is still well below the average.

[1] Bombay Labour Gazette, March, 1930, p. 720 :—one indirect effect of the monsoon is also the disturbance arising out of agricultural activity. "The industrial population of Bombay is drawn from the Konkan and Ratnagiri and is largely made up of people who own small pieces of land which are not sufficient to keep them.

This land is usually looked after by other members of the family but all those little landowners who can do so endeavour to get back to their villages before the monsoon breaks and communication is cut off for three months. Members of the middle classes too, who keep close contact with their native places would naturally desire to visit their homes for the same reason. For these people the Divali holidays in October and November and the Shimga holidays in March are also favourite times for holidays."

(4) The gradual increase thereafter meets with a slight reversal during January and February. The maximum is obtained in the month of March and a slightly lower maximum now observable in the month of December is probably an accidental circumstance, as may be seen by the hypothetically drawn broken time connecting December directly with March.

(5) Also the influx from Ratnagiri District is not merely larger but shows more variability than the other area there being a maximum which is about 25% higher than the level attained in other areas and a minimum with almost a negligible quantity. The cause of this last feature in the differential way in which the movements are manifested—must be sought for in local conditions.

In regard to the curve of exodus from Bombay, it will be seen

(6) that the minimum point occurs at the same position and for the same reason in July, but the maximum intensity is not due in this case until May, or just prior to the call of the monsoon ;

(7) that this is also only one definite maximum that in December being passed over by the hypothetical dotted line drawn again here—both probably being accounted for by a holiday period coming in that month, and

(8) that during the part October, November, December, January, February, probably March also there is an excess of inflow over the movement in the opposite direction, this being compensated almost entirely by the large excess in exodus in May, while during the monsoon months the figures are naturally well balanced.

An attempt was made to determine, if possible, the number in which migration—both into Bombay, abbreviated (I) and out of Bombay (E)—was correlated with certain other economic feature. In Table X we have already dealt with the association between absenteeism and exodus for corresponding months (E_0) and by giving lead (E_{+1}) and lag (E_{-1}) of one month to the latter figures. In table XIII we reproduce co-efficients of

correlation between each of E_0, E_{+1} with movement into Bombay (I), cost of living index (L) and as measures of mill production quantity of yarn spun (S) and of goods woven (W) — taking the relevant data for the 36 months during May, 1926 to February, 1929, from various sources in the Bombay Labour Gazette.

TABLE XIII.

	I	L	W	S
E_0	·7835	·2846	·1743	·1802
E_{+1}	·6730	·3628	·5016	·3323
E_{-1}	·4497	−·0365	·1317	·1157
I	...	−·1805	·2819	·3205

(Also $r_{LW} = +·74$; $r_{LS} = +·72$; $r_{WS} = +·98$.)

It will be seen that only two co-efficients are negative :

(1) *viz.*, r_{IL}, implying that as cost of living in Bombay tends to increase the flow into Bombay tends to reduce itself ;

(2) and the one between E_{-1} and L, whose measure is however very low.

Also the correlations between I and the various adaptations of E all fairly high, features to which attention has already been drawn. Finally the last correlations of L, W and S are with E_{+1}, meaning that the most visible effects of either bases of production, and of the cost of living of any month are on the exodus from Bombay in the month following, rather than in the same (or previous) month.

K. B. MADHAVA
K. V. KRISHNA SASTRI

PATIENT LOVE

I.

Like summer night comes silent sleep—
A well-bred, skilful thief—
To steal away from flesh and heart
What men call pain and grief;
Repentant thief by stealth restores
The store of grief and pain
The while thou livest loveless life
And countest loss and gain.
This life of man—a poison'd rope
Whose coils are long-drawn death of Hope.

II.

My fear of what's in Future's womb—
'Gainst Love a dire offence.
Whatever comes—a gift from Love
Of joy to soul and sense.
When troubles come to flesh of mind
With gruesome grunt of fear
May Love descend as patience sweet
In silence ills to bear!

III.

O Love, Thy name untouch my life
All thought may die in Thee to dip!
My troubled life but dust of way
To reach Love's loyous breast,
In all forgetting Peace to dwell
In life's eternal rest.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN RUSSIA FROM 1861 TO 1920.

VII.

The high-handed autocracy of Russia, affected terribly by the old cancers of corruption and favouritism, was not only helpless to remove the innumerable ills but increased them a hundredfold by spreading disorder everywhere. Even the army was not exempt from corruption and from hopeless disorganisation. The generals individually were excellent; the soldiers too fought with valour; but the onslaughts of Hindenberg and Mackensen had to be met by soldiers "many of whom had to man the trenches with sticks, in expectation that the death of comrades might give the chances of picking up rifles; batteries were forbidden to fire more than a couple of times an hour." Russian blood boiled at such cruel play with human lives. "The Revolution of 1917," it has been said, "was prepared on the battlefields of Gorlice and Cramostav." Already there were bitter sores in the heart of the people—sores made grievous by the memories of the Russo-Japanese war, the reactionary activities of the Government and above all by the increasing burden of taxation. The defeat in the German war precipitated the crisis. The Duma grew troublesome and on March 11, 1917, the Tzar dissolved it; but the Duma refused to dissolve at the behest of the Autocrat of all the Russias and voted for a provisional Government. After this almost spontaneous collapse of the Autocracy, follows a period of turmoil and uncertainties, which is filled by the gradual crystallisation of leadership out of the interplay of many parties opposed to or favouring a social revolution in a country exhausted by war and for the most part inhabited by peasants hungry for land. On Nov. 7, 1917, the Bolsheviki seized the Government. Since then, the Bolsheviki have been the leaders of Russian events through many vicissitudes and many changes of policy.

VIII.

On the very day of their accession to power the Bolsheviki issued a decree concerning land. This decree sought to placate peasantry by trying to satisfy their land hunger.

The institution of private property was to be abolished through the dictatorship of the proletariate. But the mass of the population was peasantry, strongly imbued with the idea of private property and individual ownership. In order that the leaders of the proletariate might carry out their programme of socialisation in the towns, it was necessary that the peasantry should be kept neutral. Their support was not available and their opposition would prove decisive. Hence the tactics of Bolshevism required from the very beginning to achieve the neutrality of the peasantry.

The Land Decree of Nov. 7, 1917, declared all land held by landowners confiscated without compensation. The land belonging to peasants and Cossacs were specially excluded from confiscation. The Soviet Government issued a set of provisional rules to regulate the new agrarian arrangements, operative until the Constituent Assembly formed new rules on the basis of these rules.

Under the plan proposed, all land confiscated from the landlords as well as left in the hands of the peasants or the Cossacs, were declared to be the property of the whole people. The right of use only was given to those who would actually work on them. This divorce of ownership and use was fine theory indeed; but to the peasants it made little difference. If they were secure in the use and enjoyment of their land they would care little whether the purely formal rights of ownership belonged to them or to the state. To the common mind ownership is measured by the security of use and enjoyment.

Former estates with a high degree of efficiency should not be cut up, it was declared, but left in tact for utilisation by

the state or by communities. All the technical equipments on such estates should be confiscated by the state, while tools and cattle in the possession of the peasants should be left undisturbed. All forms of hired labour were abolished. Thus lands belonged to the estate and individual citizens used them. Agricultural implements belonged partly to the state and partly to the peasants. The land in any locality was to be divided equally among the whole working population according to local conditions. Periodical redistribution of land was once again provided for and if the land proved insufficient at any such redistribution, the surplus people was to be moved to other localities at government cost.

The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets met as the highest legislative body and approved practically the entire plan.

IX.

The provincial authorities were charged with carrying out this redistribution of land. Consequently there was no uniform system. But these local authorities were quite unequal to the task and the organisation they set up for the purpose was hopelessly insufficient. The rules were recklessly violated and force was the only method of redistribution. The estates of the great landowners were seized by the peasants and divided among themselves, not, of course, in an orderly or systematic way, but by the very practical method of each peasant or group of peasants arming against every other, grabbling what he could and holding it if he had the power. The landlords saw their estate taken from them by a rabble of peasants who only 60 years ago had been only serfs, a species of domestic animal less valuable than the best horses.

But the peasants soon were faced by a rival who proved inimical to their property tradition and who was largely used by the Soviet authorities as an entering wedge of communism into

the villages. The army and the city rapidly began to empty into the villages large number of men who had formerly left the villages for industrial centres and who now began to go back to share in the new lands benefits. Proletarian in character, not affected by property tradition, these people, called the "Village Poverty," became a great instrument in the hands of the Bolshevik Government. The "Village Poverty" organised into bands seized land by force and began to carry on agricultural operation on a collective basis. This commune movement grew of its own accord and was eagerly watched by the Soviet authorities who soon began to encourage it. On January 11, 1918, the Soviet Government issued the decree concerning the organisation of the "Village Poverty." The decree for the first time recognised them as an instrument of class war in the villages and defined their official status. A committee of Poverty was to be organised in every village or rural community, and the franchise was extended to all except the rich or the middle peasantry who had surplus grain in their possession or owners of industrial enterprises, hirers of labours, etc. The duties of the committee were two-fold : they were to control the distribution of grain, the articles of prime necessity, and the agricultural implements suppled by the Government, in the community in which it operated. The second function was to help the governmental agencies in the extraction of surplus grain from the peasants who still held them. But more of this anon.

Another movement grew in the village, which also was encouraged by the Soviet authorities. Though the decree of Nov. 7, 1917 placed the entire arrable land at the disposal of the people, it added but little to each individual holding. Only 15,800,000 dessiatinas were available for redistribution and the individual peasant's holding was increased by scarcely a dessiatina each. Large-scale operation was still impossible and the peasants took to group work. They did not undertake the obligations of collective ownership but prepared simply to band together for purposes of collective work. These agricultural associa-

tions were preferred by the authorities to individual holdings; but the village communes managed by the 'Village Proverty' were still more preferred. The associations were accepted as good only because the middle peasantry stubbornly refused to go into communes. With all attempts of encouragement and help extended to the communes, there were only about 500 communes by the end of 1918, not a brilliant record of course.

X

On February, 14, 1919 was passed the Decree, entitled, "The Regulation Concerning The Socialistic Agrarian Arrangement And the Measures for Organising Agriculture on a Socialistic Basis." The immediate object and the ultimate aim of the scheme in the Regulation were distinguished. The ultimate aim was :—

" The basis of the agrarian scheme must be the determination to create a single, unified, rural economy, that would supply the Soviet Republic with the greatest possible amounts of economy, benefits with the least possible expenditure of the people's toil. In conformity with this, the new agrarian scheme embraces all the measures of technical character, directed towards the introduction of collective principles in the use of land, rather than the individual ones."

But as all agriculture could not immediately be organised on a collective basis on account of the stern repugnance of the middle peasantry, individualistic holdings were also permitted; but it was declared—

" Large Soviet estates, rural communes, group agriculture and all other forms of collctive use of the land are the best means of achieving the object, and therefore all forms of the individual use of the land should be regarded as merely temporary and doomed to destruction."

Thus by the Decree of February, 1919, three forms of collective agriculture were recognised; Soviet estates, Rural

communes, and Collective Agricultural Associations. The first two forms were purely communistic, and the third form, though considered temporary, was accepted nevertheless. The privileges conferred on these forms vary with the degree of acceptibility of each. As the Soviet estate approaches closest to the communistic ideal, they are placed in the most privileged position; while the rural communes receive better privileges than the agricultural associations. The February decree states clearly that the total land fund in the ownership of the state "should be utilised, first of all, for the need of the Soviet estates and the Rural Communes, and then for the use of associations and other collective forms, and, lastly for the use of those who till individual holdings for their own use."

The Soviet estates were the property of the state and was managed by the state with the help of hired labourers. Their purpose was two-fold; agronomic association and communistic propaganda. The land taken over for Soviet estates was exclusively the large estates of former landowners. The average size of a Soviet estate in February 1919 was about 900 acres.

The Rural commune s were used collectively and the tools and cattle pertaining thereto were owned in common. They were to be cultivated by the members themselves without the aid of hired labourers, except in cases of emergency. Of the produce raised, the members were permitted to keep certain fixed amount of the food products as compensation for their toil ; and the rest was to be placed at the disposal of the Government. Amounts delivered to the Government above certain norms were paid for by them and these communal profits, as they were called, must be used for the improvement and extension of the communal estates.

A billion-rouble-fund was administered by local committee for the help of these rural communes. Loans might be obtained from this fund by the communes in the form of money or other agricultural requisites, and could be repaid either in money or in the food products, if the latter exceeded the Government norm.

In the collective agricultural associations the tools, buildings, etc., were not owned in common; but the individual members of the association, owning these, lent them to the association. This was merely a form of group work and therefore not at all communistic. Nevertheless they were officially recognised and the billion-rouble-fund could be used for their help. They could requisition tools and form individual holders, if these latter kept them idle or did not make full use of them. The first charge on the produce raised was deductions for seeds for the next sowing and the maintenance of the capital in tact. Next the numbers received certain portions according to certain fixed norm for the whole country. The rest was to be handed over to the Government.

The land, not worked by any of these collective forms, was distributed among the peasantry in the form of individual holdings. The theoretical ownership, however, always remained with the state.

Thus herein was outlined a very extensive scheme that was to pave the path of progress towards communism and collective agriculture. The 'Village Poverty' was extensively used since January, 1918, and pitched against the middle peasantry. All sorts of premiums were put on collective agriculture and individual holders were discouraged in innumerable ways. Yet according to the statement made by the Commissar of Agriculture, Sereda, at the beginning of January, 1920, out of 24,151,000 desiatinas of land formerly owned by landlords but now dispossessed 20,798,000 desiatinas or 86% were taken over by the peasantry as individual holdings; 2½% were taken over by the Rural communes and agricultural associations; and 2½% were taken over by various governmental institutions. Add to this large percentage of individual holdings, the vast amount of land already so held by the peasantry, and the progress of collective agriculture will seem to be very small, indeed. The vast area of land was still cultivated in the form of individual holdings.

XI.

Though the peasantry were little touched on the side of production, the distributive mechanism was greatly changed.

The output of food-grains began to shrink even before the March revolution ; but things came to crisis as soon as the Bolsheviki came to power. The figures in connection with one of the principal food producing governments of central Russia will illustrate the matter.

Shipments of grain from the Government of Tambov (in thousands of Poods.)

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jany.
1916-17...	700.	2,800.	2,050.	2,500.	5,650.
1917-18...	2,750.	1,600.	120.	115.	30.

The provisional Government, noticing the sharp shrinkage of food supply and the urgency of war needs, instituted a grain monopoly with fixed prices for food grains. Every peasant was compelled by law to deliver his surplus produce to the Government at a fixed price. As early as the month of October, 1917, the last month of the Provisional Government, signs of unwillingness on the part of the peasants to part with their grain at a fixed price were clearly noticed. With the Bolsheviks taking up the reins of Government, (November) the shipment of food grains came down by a long leap and in January, 1918, it came down from over $5\frac{1}{2}$ million poods to only 30 thousand poods. The state of affairs in other provinces was the same.

Such an enormous reduction in shipment of food grains meant starvation for the towns and other non-food-producing provinces. Production of food grains fell very sharply no doubt ; but it did not fall as heavily as the reduction in Government shipment indicated. This latter only showed the unwillingness of the peasants to deliver their grains to the Government at a fixed price. Smuggling was extensively practised in the face of the Law. Individuals from the starving provinces would go to the

grain-producing provinces and come back with bags of flour, grains, etc. These men were called 'Bag-men.' The trade of Bag-men was highly lucrative. They could sell a Pood of rye in towns at 40 roubles a pood as against a total cost of less than 20 roubles. But then their trade was extremely risky. The Bag-men, if they could be detected, were shot on the way and their bags were confiscated. Half of their trips were unsuccessful.

Inspite of all these dangers. the 'Spekulyatsia,' as this smuggling trade was called, grew up extensively. Statistics have been taken for Kaluga, a non-food-producing province of central Russia, for the five months of August to December, 1917. Only 6% of the 627 districts could go on without the help of the Bag-men. In the remaining 94% six hundred thousand trips were made, half of which proved unsuccessful. While the Government could ship into these districts only a little over one million poods during this period the bag-men brought during the same period into these districts three times as many poods. The process was extremely wasteful no doubt; but it was the 'Spekulyatsia' that could keep the people of Keluga from starvation.

The story was the same everywhere. The peasants refused to sell their grain to the Government as stubbornly as the Government refused to give up the monopoly or raise the fixed price. In consequence, Government shipments fell sharply, the 'Spekulyatsia' grew in dimensions, and the 'free' selling price of grain soared to extreme heights.

XII.

The food problem was growing acuter from month to month. During the month of March, 1918, the amount of grain expected to be loaded in various parts of Russia for shipments to the fourteen provinces of central and northern Russia was 10,260 carloads. The amount actually loaded was only 2, 268 carloads.

In April only 15% of the amount expected was loaded and in the first half of May only 3% . Government met with determined resistance at the hands of the peasants. The peasants could easily get rifles and machine guns from returning soldiers who were only too glad to exchange them for food.

Under these circumstances the decree of May 13, 1918, introduced class war into the villages. Government grew indignant with the peasants and ordered in the decree that all grains held over and above the amount required for personal consumption and for seed must be delivered to the Governmental agencies within a week of the Decree. Failure to obey would be heavily penalised by imprisonment of not less than ten years, confiscation of all property, and expulsion from the village community. Any one, who would give information leading to the discovery of concealed grains should receive half their value, when confiscated, determined at the fixed price.

This decree was supplemented by the decree of June 11, 1918, by which the help of the village poverty was registered in favour of the Government in extracting the surplus grains. Various inducements were offered to them for this purpose. They received the right of distributing grains, articles of prime necessity, and agricultural implements among persons whom they considered deserving. If in a locality the village poverty could extract the entire corn by the 15th of July, 1918, they would rsceive enough grains for distributing free of charge, and all the articles of prime necessity and agricultural implements at 50% of the actual price. But if in extracting the surplus grains they took as long as the period till 15th August, 1918, the concessions would be 50 % price-reduction in case of grains and 25% reduction in the case of articles of prime necessity and agricultural implements. If, however, the work could not be done till the end of August, the reductions would be only 25% and 15% respectively.

This decree could not in the least improve the food situation. Its only results were an intense embitterment of the

feelings of the peasantry and a sharp reduction in the area sown and therefore in the volume of output. Not less than four millions desiatinas were left unsown during 1918, according to the official estimate which is after all conservative. And Government could commandeer only a tenth of what it required for supplying the provinces. There could not be a more appalling situation.

In August, 1918, Government turned to another agency for collecting the surplus grains. The co-operative organisations were reduced to semi-governmental agencies and the peasants were asked to deliver their surplus over set norms of consumption and seed supply at fixed price to these agencies. People in charge of these departments soon discovered that the scheme could not be worked unless the 'Fixed price' was either given up or raised considerably. But the Government would not listen to this suggestion and the co-operative departments too, failed to achieve any result.

With the fall of 1918 large labour organisations, such as Railroad Workers' Union, Factory Committee, etc., were permitted to send out food detachments to the grain producing provinces for the purpose of purchasing grain from the middle peasantry at the fixed price and requisitioning it from the rich peasantry. Early in 1919 the sending forth of such detachments was definitely organised with certain changes. The whole system was placed under the control of the Military Food Supply Bureau, who in conjunction with the peoples' Commissariat of food supply framed certain rules for the conduct of these detachments. Every detachment would consist of 25 men, one commissar and his assistant, and would remain on the payrolls of the organisation that sent them. The local food administration organs fix a day on which the surplus food has to be delivered by the peasants. On due delivery, the local executive committee of the Soviet grants them a receipt which renders them immune from a food detachment. On failure to deliver the detachment visits the village and does the work of requisi-

tion. In many places the authorities and the food detachments are rather displeased than gratified if the surplus is duly delivered; for it deprives them of the opportunity of raiding a village. These raids are a regular horror to the villagers. The tax-collectors of Tsarist regime were far better compared to these detachments.

Thus the food supply policy of the Soviet Government passed through three different stages; but the results in each case were far from satisfactory. The Government itself had to purchase grains at the 'Speculyatsia'—an institution which it tried to ban at excessive cost. The 'Speculyatsia' alone could keep the people supplied with food.

XIII.

The food supply policy of the Soviet Government thus simply embittered the feelings of the peasantry without achieving any desired results. The tactics of Bolshevism sought from the very beginning to bring about the neutrality of the peasantry and these latter were placated by the offer of a vast mass of confiscated land. But this neutrality of the peasantry went to pieces on the rocks of the State grain monopoly and the 'fixed' price. The middle peasantry began to harbour intensely bitter feelings against the Bolshevic Government.

This bitterness of feeling borne by the middle peasantry against the Government was sought to be allayed by two open letters written by the two leaders of Bolshevism, Lenin and Trotsky, at the beginning of 1919. Lenin emphasised the fact that the Soviet Government had always recognised three distinct groups among the peasantry. The first group, the 'Village Poverty' is in every country the friend of the socialist; and the second group, the 'Kulaki' or the rich peasantry is everywhere their enemies; but the third group is the middle peasantry. They are not the enemies of the Soviet Government; they can be our friends, and that is what we are striving for. Lenin

appealed to the middle peasantry to co-operate with the Government in the matter of delivering their surplus grains to the Governmental agencies; for, private trade would lead to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

Trotsky assured the middle peasantry that the Soviet Government is and always will be in favour of communistic agriculture, but it "does not compel and never intends to compel" the middle peasantry to change to the communistic form of land tilling.

But with the lapse of a year, force had to be used in the matter of agricultural production. So long force was used only in the extraction of surplus food from the peasantry but production was left free from any sort of control. But the galling institutions of grain monopoly and 'fixed price' soon drove the peasantry to keep their land unsown. They would raise the crop from the land which they thought they owned, only to see it extracted from them forcibly at a nominal price. The price again was paid in worthless paper money which like fairly gold turned to leaves overnight. The peasants were thus miserably helpless against the Soviet Government. Such a policy could have only one result: the peasants would no longer sow their land. The situation has been well described by a Soviet economist: "In order to escape requisition, the middle peasants in many localities plant grass and other crops unfit for human consumption, instead of food grains. They make every effort to reduce the area under cultivation sowing only what they require themselves, expecting in case of need, to receive supplementary quantities from the Government." Contraction of the area sown progressed rapidly till force had to be used in keeping the land under cultivation.

In the Government of Tula practically all the spring sowing was done under the direct supervision of the Soviet authorities and the results were considered good. Encouraged by this and similar other successful attempts, the Soviet Government decided to make a systemetic use of force over the whole country in the sowing of the winter crops of 1920. The summer crops had

failed on account of a drought and there was acute distress among the people. People began to migrate in large numbers—specially from central Russia. Stringent orders were issued over the signatures of Lenin and the Commissar of food supply to stop the migration and for the compulsory sowing of the winter crops. All the land suitable for winter crops must be sown. The winter seeds that remained in the country must not be consumed. If any one had not the seed, he would take them from the Government seed fund to return them with a 12% increase after a year. If any one kept his land suitable for winter crops unsown, his land would be confiscated and given over to the communes. If any one receiving seeds from the Government consumed them, he would be punished by the confiscation of his property and by compulsory labour.

Thus force was systematically used in agricultural production also. As soon as it was used in the distribution of agricultural produce, it was sure to make its way into the production side as well. Freedom in production and freedom in distribution must go together. If you violate the one you cannot long help violating the other. Forced production is the inevitable sequence of forced distribution.

XIV

Thus we have traced the course of Bolshevic policy with regard to agriculture till 1920. The Bolshevics started with the hope of neutralising the peasants in order that they might carry on their industrial programme without any serious disturbance. But they were soon faced by the food problem which grew acuter from day to day. They had inherited from the Provisional Government the institutions of the state grain monopoly and the ' fixed price ' and they were glad to accept them as elements in their policy. Throughout the year 1918 various attempts were made for extracting by force the surplus grains from the peasants but with little result. These only alienated

the peasants whom they sought by all means to placate at the outset. All attempts at their pacification by the great leaders failed. They were as stubborn as ever and refused to deliver their surplus grain at the 'fixed price.' The contraction of the area shown progressed fast, and all the desperate attempts of the Government were only leading them deeper into it. Consequently the inevitable outcome of such a policy was to follow. The Government could not stop short of introducing compulsion in agricultural production. Thus the whole country was turned into one huge agricultural factory in which both the production and the distribution of agricultural produce were directed and controlled with unlimited coercion by the sole hand of the Soviet Government. Socialisation of agriculture was thus tried to be achieved at a huge cost in human sufferings.

The policy outlined above was no doubt claimed to be permanent socialisation of Russia; and indeed they were socialistic. But if we compare it with the policies of other European Governments during war, we find only a little difference between them, which is only a difference of degree; and this difference is accounted for by the industrial backwardness of Russia. Every nation has to take to rationing and state monopoly during a war; but in Russia they went a little further. Her industrial equipment being rather poor, almost all the industrial resources had to be turned to the manufacture of munitions. The towns would therefore produce very little in exchange for which they could obtain corn from the villages and consequently agriculture also had to be brought under State control. But the real difference between Russia and other European Governments was in the attitude to all these measures. Other European Governments looked upon them as necessities in war; they are an evil which comes in the train of another evil, *e.g.*, war; and they must be got rid of at the earliest opportunity. The Bolshevics, on the other hand, looked upon these measures as an ideal arrangement of society, to be desired at all costs. To them, war was only a good opportunity for introducing them. Certainly they did not

want to terminate them with war; they wanted to keep them permanently.

Obviously it was an impossible idea to keep them permanently; and the Bolshevics had to give them up the very next year.

BINAYBHUSAN DASGUPTA

TWILIGHT CALL

Tremulous and frail,
Twilight flung her mystic veil
O'er the verdant vale;
Ashen pale
Gloom on black waters fell—
Black waters of the stream,
Whisp'ring the sweetest hymn!
The half-light dim
Set the ciders all adream!
My soul cast round a lustrous beam,
When lo! rang out the temple-bell,
"Hail, the divine in creation, hail!"

SUBHENDU GHOSH

PRE-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN HINDUISM [1]

(Part I—Mother-Goddess Cults.)

It is well-known that besides other component factors, Hinduism is composed of both Aryan and Pre-Aryan Elements. But a great bar to the true appreciation of the Pre-Aryan elements in Hinduism is the "Aryan Myth." The descendants of the Aryans have always assumed that wild barbarous tribes lived in India before the advent of the Aryans and that the civilization of India is entirely theirs. But as a result of recent discoveries and researches we have come to know that the Pre-Aryan peoples of India were as highly civilized as the Aryans. The archaeological discoveries of the Chalcolithic age at Harappa in the Panjab and at Mohenjodaro in Sind have revealed to us the existence of several cults which are very popular in modern Hinduism, but which were either unknown or referred to in the Vedas with much opprobrium. It is a significant fact that Hinduism of to-day has practically no affinity with the religion depicted in the Rigveda whereas it has considerable affinity with the Pre-Aryan religion of India. The Pre-Aryan cults of India, thus, offer starting points for the history of Indian religions. So a scientific study of Hinduism is quite impossible without taking into account that of the Pre-Aryan elements. A problem of such serious import has all along been neglected, too much concentrated attention has been paid to the Aryan aspect of the Indian religion—no comprehensive attempt has been made to enquire to what extent Indian religion is influenced by Pre-Aryan elements. For the lack of any definite evidence to guide us such a study was hitherto considered

[1] The writer wishes to say that every statement made in this article can be proved by documents, so that references are not necessary. He has, therefore discarded the usual and pedantic method of weighting down a page with footnotes,—A. K. S.

to be of the nature of conjecture and guess-work, but in the light of the recent discoveries in the Indus Valley we have been able to stand on surer grounds.

One of the leading cults of Pre-Aryan times was the worship of the Mother Goddess. This is evidenced by numerous terracotta figurines found at Harappa and at Mohenjodaro. They represent a nude female figure wearing an elaborate headdress, many necklaces and bracelets and nothing else except a girdle. They cannot fail to be identified with the votives of the Mother Goddess so familiar in other centres of Pre-Aryan culture. They have a very wide distribution. They have been found in Beluchistan, in Elam, in Mesopotamia, in Anatolia, and in places as far afield as the Aegean World. Down to the times of the Sungas they have been found throughout the Ganges Valley. In South India,—the stronghold of the Pre-Aryan Dravidian culture—they persist to the present day as votives of the Mother Goddess. From the archaeological evidence we come to know that in Pre-Aryan times there was a certain type of culture in which the idea of the Mother Goddess occupied a very prominent place and which early became diffused over a very wide area. In Europe we first trace the cult of the Mother Goddess in the Aegean World. The Aegean cult of the Mother Goddess was grafted on the Aegean soil from Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia the earliest worshippers of the Mother Goddess were the Sumerians. Her worship formed the very pillar of the Sumerian pantheon. Archaeologists are unanimous in their opinion that the Sumerians were an exotic people in Mesopotamia. Though the Sumerians themselves had forgotten all tradition about their original home, yet various traits in the Sumerian culture show conclusively that they had come from a mountainous country. The cult of their deities on high places and the popularity of mountain animals on the Sumerian seals suggest no less clearly that the Sumerians were an highland folk. Some of their traditions, such as the legend of the culture hero Oannes, a manfish who swam up the Persian Gulf to Eridu,

point to a southern origin and an arrival from overseas. They seem to be connected with India. We know that the first fortunes of Sumer was bound up with Indian intercourse. The regularity and intimacy of the intercourse with India is proved by the occurrence on Sumerian sites of objects imported from the Indus Valley, the oldest indisputable instances in the world of manufactured goods of precisely defined provenance being transported for long distance from the centre of their fabrication. Could not the Sumerians come from Mount Sumeru, which figures so prominent in various Indian legends? But at the moment there is no other evidence to substantiate this statement except the Phonetic similarity between the two names and the fact of the mountainous origin of the Sumerians. The Indian origin of the Sumerian is not a novel hypothesis. It was first broached by Dr. Hall, who connected them with the Dravidians—the Brahui tribe of Beluchistan being the connecting link. That the Sumerian cult of the Mother Goddess was imported into Mesopotamia from India seems to be proved by the similarity of the conceptional aspect of the Mother Goddess of the two places. This is not impossible, for India has always been a land of the Mother Goddess cult. It is a distinguishing feature of the Pre-Aryan Dravidian civilization. The Aryan Hindus have borrowed it from their Dravidian neighbours.

The general character of the Mother Goddess has been admirably summarised by Glotz for the Aegean area as follows and such a generalisation is equally valid for India :

"She is the Great Mother. It is she who makes all nature bring forth. All existing things are emanations from her. She is the Madonna, carrying the holy child, or watching over him. She is the mother of men and of animals, too. She continually appears with an escort of beasts, for she is the mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds and fishes. She even makes the plants grow by her universal fecundity..... .....perpetuating the vegetative force of which she is the fountain head."

Furthermore, she is exalted above all other gods. She is the leaderess of hosts in battles. She is a special deity of the mountain and is called the "Lady of the Mountains."

The general cult of the Mother Goddess originated from the worship of the Mother Earth—in the sense of the personification of the vegetative force in the earth. The first attempts to produce food by the cultivation of the soil made men keenly observant of all that helped or hindered him. And while he or his women folk (since among primitive peoples agriculture is usually left to them) would see in the Sun-spirit and the Rain-spirit beneficent aids ; the earth, great and kindly, in whose very self the seed was embedded stood forth above all. "In earth worship" says Clodd, "is to be found the explanation of the mass of rites and ceremonies to ensure fertilization of the crops and cattle and women herself." In the religious texts of ancient Mesopotamia the Mother Goddess is frequently described as "Queen of the Earth" and "Mistress of the Fields." She it is who causes verdure to spring forth. "I have heaped up the grain for mankind and I have produced fodder for the cattle" She says in one of the inscriptions. On Babylonian cylinders she is commonly represented with sheaves of grain. That the Indian Devi has also originated from the Earth Goddess is shown by her such appelations as Annapurna, Sakambhari, etc. And lastly, the Kalikapurana contains a sloka which definitely states that the Goddess Kali was originally an Earth Goddess.

It appears from the inscriptions of ancient Mesopotamia that the Mother Goddess was the guardian deity of almost all the leading cities of ancient Sumer. There are reasons to believe that she occupied the same position in the Indus Valley too. Now can we follow the association of ideas that led the highly cultured ancient peoples of the Euphrates-Tigris and the Indus Valleys to select a[nude Mother Goddess as their protecting deity ? The answer is not difficult to find. The Mother Goddess as she clearly appears from the evidence adduced above was

the personification of the power of vegetation in the earth and of fertility among animals and mankind. Now agriculture being the leading pursuit in the civilization that developed in the Euphrates-Tigris and the Indus Valleys, it is natural that the chief deity worshipped in the various political centres of the earliest periods of the history of these countries should be the personification of the power of vegetation. The conception of such a power rests on the analogy suggested by the process of procreation, which may be briefly described as the commingling of the male and female principles. All nature constantly engaged in the effort to reproduce itself, was viewed as a result of the combination of these two principles. Such being the case, it is natural that she should be represented nude in order to emphasise her character as a goddess of fecundity.

In a lecture delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and subsequently published in the Journal and Proceedings of the same society, the eminent Norwegian Indologist Sten Konow tried to show that the Indian cult of Durga-Kali-Devi is of Aryan origin and an inheritance from Indo-European times. The principal evidence of his assertion is the prevalence of the worship of goddess Nerthus in Northern Europe. Its prevalence among the Germanic tribes is referred to in the following passage of Germania Tacitus :—

"There is nothing else to be marked about these individually than that all worship Nerthus, *i.e.*, Mother Earth (terram matrem), and believe that she takes a hand in human matters and mixes with people (invehi populis). There is an island in the sea, a sacred grove (castum nemus), and within that a consecrated carriage with the cloth. The priest alone may touch in her retreat (penetrali), and with great veneration he accompanies her when she drives out drawn by cows. Then follows merry days and feasts at all places which she deigns to visit. They do not begin war, they do not take up weapons, all iron is shut up (clausem omne ferrum). Peace and quiet are the only things which they care about, until the same priest takes back the

goddess to the temples when he understands that she has got enough of the company of mortal beings. Then the carriage and the cloth and, if you will believe it, the goddess herself is abluted in a hidden lake. Slaves are in charge and they are drowned in the same lake. Hence the vague terror and the pious ignorance as to what it may be that can only be seen by people who must die.''

This is all the evidence Sten Konow has to cite to show that the Indian Mother Goddess Durga-Kali-Devi is in her origin an Indo-European deity. His arguments may be summarised as follows. Nerthus is considered to be an old goddess of fertility or some sort of chthonic divinity. He thinks that the word Nerthus is derived from the same root as the Sanskrit Nri, a man. But how could the name of a female deity be derived from a base meaning ''man'' ? To explain this difficulty he quotes the opinion of the Swedish scholar Joren Schlegren that Nerthus was not the proper name of the goddess at all, but only a metaphorical designation. But why is this cocealment of the proper name ? Konow says that it was tabooed and so could not be uttered by her votaries. To support this view he states—''Every student of Indian religion is conversant with the idea, that it is forbidden to pronounce the name of a deity.'' Being not content with deriving Nerthus from Nri he indulges in further philological speculations. He further says—''there is from the point of view of phonology, no objection whatever to identifying this base with the well-known root, Nart, Nrit, meaning ''to dance, to act,''. Now it is well known that Nrit does not simply mean ''to dance'' but rather ''to act'', ''to represent through gestures'' ''to mimic.'' Nerthus is not the name of a deiy but the designation of the image or symbol ''acting'' at the Nerthus procession and in this connection it is worth while recalling the fact that the Unadibritti gives the meaning ''earth'' for Nritu. He then mentions festivity, merry-making, singing, dancing and mimicking as so many common features of the worship of Nerthus and Durga. On the ground

of these assumed common features Sten Konow concludes—"It seems to me to be necessary to infer that the worship of the Nerthus on the one and that of Kali on the other hand are derived from one and the same source, which must have taken place in the Indo-European period."

Frankly speaking, the philological arguments of Sten Konow are not at all convincing to us. He says that the name Nerthus is not a proper name of the goddess Earth but merely a metaphorical designation derived from a root akin to the Sanskrit, Nart, Nrit, to dance, to act, to mimic, etc. To explain as to why the Aryans resorted to a metaphorical designation of their deity he mentions a fictitious fact under the cloak of the phrase "well known to the students of the Indian religion that it is forbidden to pronounce the name of a diety." We are surprised to hear such a baseless statement from the mouth of such an eminent Indologist as Sten Konow. This evidence of Sten Konow has not a shred of truth at the bottom of it. No Indian can ever dream that he or she is not entitled to pronounce the name of a deity. When the Hindu invoke a deity he invokes him or her by his or her proper name and not by any other name. So when the data themselves are false, then the conclusion Sten Konow draws from these data must necessarily be also false. Moreover the identification of the two cults as one and the same merely on the basis of such ubiquitous common features as festivity, merry making, singing, dancing, mimicking, etc., is absolutely unwarrantable. Such common features are the characteristics not only of the worship of Nerthus and Durga but of almost all the divinities of the various civilized and uncivilized races of mankind. That being the case, will Sten Konow be willing to identify all the divinities of the various civilized and uncivilized races of mankind as one and the same merely on the basis of these common features? Certainly he will not be willing to do this, for in that case it will lead to preposterous conclusion. Lastly, if Nerthus means the mother Earth and Nritu in the Unadivritti means

" earth " that does not prove anything re : the Indo-European origin of Nerthus and Durga cults. It merely indicates that probably the words Nerthus and Nritu are derived from a common Indo-European word having phonetic similarity with them and which simply meant earth. The fact is as it will be shown just below that the worship of the mother Earth is of Un-Aryan origin and that in every country where the Aryans went they admitted her into their pantheon from their Un-Aryan neighbours. Under these circumstances it is permissible to infer that when the Germanic tribes admitted the Un-Aryan Earth-Mother into their pantheon they designated her by a word which meant " earth " in their parlance,—which was either Nerthus or a word akin to it.

It is clearly mentioned in the passage quoted from Tacitus that Nerthus was the name of the Mother Earth. We have already seen that worship of the Earth-Mother was indissolubly connected with agriculture. This cult therefore arose among agricultural communities. Now evidence exists to show that the original Aryans were a pastoral folk rather than an agricultural one. In the domain of Aryan researches no modern scholar stands so high as Professor V. Gordon Childe. In his work on " The Aryans " he has devoted a chapter to the primitive Aryan Culture as reconstructed by Linguistic Palaoentology. There he observes : " In contrast to the developed pastoral terminology of all Indo-European languages, agricultural equations common to the Asiatic and European branches are rare. At the same time according to Schrader the Aryans recognised only three seasons —a cold period winter, a spring, and a hot summer—but had no name for the harvest time autumn." Przyluski in his article, " Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan " has definitely shown that the word for plough " langula " was borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from Austro-Asiatic languages. Regarding the European Aryans Prof. Gordon Childe shows that their agricultural terms were mostly borrowed from a race of peasants who occupied the Balkans, and all Central Europe as far north as Magdeburg in

Germany in the New Stone Age. Now when the Aryans had to learn agriculture from Un-Aryan peoples it is quite impossible that the cult of an agricultural deity like that of the Mother Goddess could not have originated among them. It is for this reason that no Mother Goddess could be traceable in the early Aryan literature. Neither does the Indo-European terminology preserve the faintest reminiscence of such a goddess. Moreover it is highly improbable that the Mother Goddess should have a place in a pantheon based on a patriarchal earthly society. By a comparative study of the Aryan and Un-Aryan cultures it can be shown that in every country where the Aryans went they borrowed the Earth Goddess from an Un-Aryan peasant people.

If the Durga-Kali-Devi cult be an inheritance from Indo-European times, then why is the Rigveda silent about it. Instead, the Harivamsa distinctly says that she was originally worshipped by such Un-Aryan tribes as the Savaras, Barbaras, Pulindas, and others. Haribhadra's Samaraicha Kaha also preserves a similar tradition to the effect that the Goddess Chandika—which is another name of Durga-Kali-Devi—was worshipped by the Savaras. In the Bhagavatpurana too, the Goddess Bhadrakali is associated with the Un-Aryan Panis of Sindu-Sauvira (Lower Indus Valley).

Lastly, certain fundamental similarity between the Mother Goddess of ancient Sumer and the Mother Goddess of India leaves no room for doubt that both are derived from a common source. Foremost among these similarities are the following: (1) The Mother-Goddess in both the countries are conceived as a virgin yet she had a consort. (2) The sacred animal of the Mother Goddess in both the countries was the lion and that of her consort was the bull. (3) Besides the performance of her feminine functions she was capable of doing purely male functions such as fighting. In Mesopotamian inscriptions she is constantly referred to as "Leaderess of Hosts in Battles." The Indian goddess as is well known was capable of doing the same

thing. In the Devimahatmya section of the Markandeyapurana is narrated the story of how when the gods were ousted by the Asuras they implored the help of Durga whereupon the latter took up arms and humiliated Mahisha the Asura and his hosts. (4) The Mesopotamian goddess was intimately associated with the mountain. She is constantly called the "Lady of the Mountain." The intimate connection of the Indian Mother Goddess with the Mountain is shown by her such names as Parvati, Haimavati, Vindhyavasini, etc. (5) And lastly the name of the Sumerian goddess, Nana, is still preserved in the name of the Indian goddess Nanadevi, who has a famous temple at Hinglaj in Gujrat. Those who believe that the Sumerian Kaunakas wore palm leaf skirt would find the use of a similar garment in modern India and above all its association with the Pre-Aryan goddess Parnasavari. Such fundamental similarities as above cannot be explained away as accidental.

Mother Goddesses occupy a very prominent and important place in modern Hinduism. But they have no place in the Vedic pantheon, which was modelled on a patriarchal earthly society. But with the process of time Pre-Aryan feminine deities gradually found reception in the Aryan pantheon. Thus in the later Vedic period we find Kali, Karali, etc. But they were introduced not in their original character nor as separate entities, but as part and parcel of the Vedic cult of Agni or Fire. But as the Aryans advanced towards East India their religious orthodoxy became attenuated and the Un-Aryan deities began to assert their influence on the Aryan pantheon in a most aggressive manner. Thus in the Epics and the Puranas we find mother goddesses in their true Non-Aryan character. Indeed, in some passages of these works, these goddesses have been frankly stated to have been originally worshipped by such Non-Aryan peoples as the Savaras.

The cult of the Mother goddesses underwent further development through the influence of the Tantras—which works reveal to us a religion—perhaps aboriginal—of sexual

orgiastic character, which doubtless in substance is very old and popular.

In the Hinduism of to-day the village feminine deities occupy an important place. In almost every village and town of India may be seen a shrine or a symbol of these deities. There is no doubt that it represents another phase of the Pre-Aryan mother goddess cult more or less modified by Brahminical influence.

Though the cult of the Mother Goddess had no place in the Vedic religion, yet the Grihyasutras incidentally mention some of the goddesses of popular origin. Of such deities mention may specially be made of Vasini, " the ruling Goddess who is probably the Mother Goddess who despite all Vedic influence always was the chief spiritual village power identical with Siva's wife in various forms." These goddesses were invoked of as givers of offsprings and longevity. There cannot be any doubt that these goddesses were the direct descendants of the nude goddesses of Pre-Aryan times.

ATUL KRISHNA SUR

"ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE BY THE SULTANS OF DELHI DURING THE PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD"

We hear a good deal about the administration of justice by the Mughal Emperors but about the administration of justice by the Pre-Mughal Emperors we do not hear much. This is mainly due to the reason that the materials for our information on this subject dealing with the Pre-Mughal period are very scanty as compared with those of the Mughal period. No such authority like Ain-i-Akbari, and Dastur-ul-amls which contain detailed accounts of the Mughal administration are available as our source of information on the Pre-Mughal period.

According to the ancient political ideal which both the Hindus and the Muhammadans accepted, the sovereign was the "fountain of justice," and we find the Pre-Mughal sovereigns, like their Mughal successors, administering justice in their own fashion. A perusal of all the available sources of the period under reveiw gives us a clear impression that there were many sovereigns on this period, who deserve no less credit for their keen sense of justice than their Mughal successors. They tried their best to get in touch with the people, to ascertain their grievances, and to administer justice as promptly as possible, showing no mercy or favour to any one, not even their own relatives or high officials of the State.

The first Muhammadan sovereign of Delhi was Qutbuddin. He was a great lover of justice and impartiality and he governed his kingdom "by the best laws till his death." (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 199). Hassan Nizami, the author of Taj-ul-Masir, who knew him well said that he administered justice with impartiality and his metaphorical saying that during his reign the wolf and the sheep drank water in the same tank shows undoubtedly that he exerted himself vigorously to punish oppressions and lawlessness and was a lover of even-handed justice.

Next to him let us come to the reign of Sultan Altamash who was not only a pious and virtuous sovereign but was also a lover of even-handed justice. He was, as appears from the accounts of Ibn Batuta, ever ready to hear the grievances of the people and to redress their wrongs. Ibn Batuta says—" Among his noteworthy characteristics was the zeal with which he endeavoured to redress wrongs, and to render justice to the oppressed...He placed at the door of his palace, two marble lions, upon two pedestals which were there. These lions had an iron chain round their necks, from which hung a great bell " (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 591). Whenever any aggrieved person wanted to make a complaint to the king, he had to ring the bell. On hearing the sound of the bell the Sultan promptly called him to his presence, heard his case, and administered justice, accordingly (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot Vol. III, p. 591). These informations of Ibn Batuta were of course, based up on hearsay evidence, as he had come to India much later than these events. But however we may agree or disagree with these details of information, the fact that the " Sultan was very strict in the performance of religious duties and services," and as Minhaj-us-Sirāj, the contemporary historian says that there was never " a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kindness," etc. we are inclined to believe that such a soveregin was also certainly endowed with an earnest zeal for redressing the wrongs of his subjects with strict impartiality.

After him the names of Sultana Reziya and Nasiruddin Mahmud deserve mention. Both of them have been depicted by the contemporary historians as lovers of equity and justice.

Sultan Balban is proverbially known for his extreme sense of justice and he did not spare even his nearest relatives or high officials of the State if they had committed any offence. In order to make himself acquanted with the grievances of the people and thus to make his administration of justice efficient and successful he appointed spies throughout his kingdom whose business was

to report to him all cases of injustice and oppression. Through this espionage system he, no doubt, checked crimes and protected many innocent lives against injustice and unnecessary harassments. As instances of his stern justice the following examples may be cited here:—"Malik Barbak was slave of Sultan Balban; he was Sar-Jamadar, and one of the privileged attendants at court. He held a jagir of four thousand horse, and the fief of Badaon. In a fit of drunkenness, while at Badaon, he caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with scourges. Sometime afterwards, the Sultan went to Badaon and the man's widow complained to the Sultan. He immediately ordered that this Malik Barbak, chief of Badaon, should be scourged to death in presence of the widow. The spies (barid) who had been stationed to watch the fief of Badaon and had made no report, were hanged over the gate of the town. Haibat Khan.....was the slave and kara-beg of Sultan Balban. He also while intoxicated killed a man. The dead man's friends brought the matter before the Sultan, who ordered that Haibat Khan should receive five hundred lashes in his presence and should then be given to the widow. Addressing the woman, he said, "This murderer was my slave, I give him to you; with your own hands stab him with a knife till you kill him." Haibat Khan employed some friends to intercede with the woman, and after much humiliation and weeping they succeeded in purchasing his release for 20,000 tankas. Haibat Khan never after went out of his house until the day of his death" (Tarikh-i-Feroj-Shahi of Zia Barni, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 101.)

After Balban the name of Jallaluddin Khilji deserves notice. He was also a lover of justice and impartiality. (Tarikhi-i-Feroj-Shahi of Zia Berni, Elliot Vol. III, p. 143.)

Sultan Allauddin's sense of justice was like that of Balban, and it rather appears horrible to a modern thinker. His espionage system brought him to light cases of infringement of law and whatever happened in his kingdom and when any case of lawlessness or oppression reached his ears, he would inflict the

most exemplary punishment we can conceive of. His idea of kingship was different from that of his predecessors. He was of opinion that religion and politics should be separated and the former should not interfere with the latter. "Royal commands belonged to the king;" "the orders and rules of Government depended solely on the judgment of the sovereign, and that the law (of the Prophet) had no concern with them." (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, De, p. 170.)

But Allauddin's system of Government did not long survive his death. After the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak "a code of laws for the civil Government were framed, founded upon the Quoran and consistent with the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy." (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 402.) His son and successor, Muhammed Tughlak, in spite of all the cruel and violent deeds was "the humblest of men, and the one who exhibited "the greatest equity." (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 611.) Badaoni has given a detailed account of the administration of justice by this monarch. While administering justice he did not care to know whether the offender was the son of a Malik or of a poor peasant; every case was decided according to its own merit, irrespective of status or position of the offender, and he did not even hesitate to punish the Shaikhs and Sayyids if they had committed any offence.

His court was the highest court of appeal and whenever necessary he would set aside the judgment of the lower courts. But his court was not always a court of appeal, and, when necessary, it also acted as a court of first instance.

His successor Feroj Shah was also very keen in administering justice to his subjects and in repressing crimes and lawlessness, and he disposed of cases according to the laws of the Quran. As his heart was full of the "milk of human kindness," he did away with many of the cruel tortures and other heinous acts which had hitherto been resorted to by his predecessors. In those days even for small crimes the offenders were subjected to inhuman tortures, such as amputation of hands and feet,

ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, etc." (Fatuhat-i-Feroi Shahi, Elliot Vol. III, p. 375.) Feroj Tughlak tried his best to abolish these cruel practices, but as I said in my article—"Administration of the Delhi Empire in the Pre-Mughal Period" [1]—(published in the June issue (1930) of the Indian Historical Quarterly),—these practices were so deep-rooted in the soil that they could not be stopped by one stroke of the pen and his benevolent attempts might have mitigated the horrors only during his life-time.

After Feroj's death which had taken place in October, 1388, the country passed through great turmoil and confusion and many good institutions disappeared from the kingdom. Department of law and justice lost much of its former glory and it was not till the advent of Bahlal Lodi to the throne of Delhi towards the middle of the 15th century that this department again received proper attention. Both Bahlal Lodi (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 562) and Sikandar Lodi had great liking for administering justice with impartiality. About Sikandar Lodi Ferishta says "He never omitted to devote a certain time to hear complaints in public" (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 585), and he very frequently went into long and tedious enquiries on intricate cases of law and settled them in person" (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 588).

The sovereign was, no doubt, the highest court of justice in the realm but he did not confine his attention to appeals only; his court also acted as a court of first instance, whenever necessary. It was due to this benign attitude of the sovereigns that at least some of the oppressed people could find relief from sufferings and undue harassments.

From the above accounts it is clear that many of the Pre-Mughal sovereigns were great lovers of equity and justice, and they made every effort to redress wrongs of the people with

[1] There I discussed the judicial organization but in this present article I discuss about the administration of justice by the Royal Court.

impartiality and even-handed justice. Some of them, as for example, Balban, Allauddin and Sikandar Lodi, etc., went to the length of appointing spies throughout their kingdom to know the real state of affairs, and whatever might have been the primary object of their espionage system, it was undoubtedly true that this espionage system had sometimes brought to light the sufferings of the people and thus their wrongs remedied.

Offences which called for severe punishments were apostasy, murder, adultery by a married man with a married woman, treason, rebellion against the sovereign, or aiding and abetting an insurrection and disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely." [(i) (Dee, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 233). (ii) (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 217).] Punishments for these offences were—for apostasy, death; for murder, death, but if the nearest relative of the victim wanted to have the case compounded with money-damages, called "the price of blood offered by the murderer," he could do it; for adultery the punishment was "stoning to death;" and as for offences against the state, the punishment was also very severe but they depended on the pleasure and sweet-will of the sovereign who decided on the merits of each case what punishment would be inflicted upon the offenders.

Inspite of their best intentions these sovereigns could personally dispose of a very limited number of cases on account of the heavy pressure of multifarious duties that they had to perform. Moreover, want of good communication in absence of steamship or telegraphy also acted as a hindrance to the proper discharge of their duties. It very frequently happened that oppressions and lawlessness which prevailed in distant parts of the kingdom could not reach the ears of the sovereign and these things continued there uninterrupted. The people would often brook them in silence than to journey from such distant places and at great perils, loss of time and heavy expenses.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM

All that we have seen so far, then, only shows that it may be confidently asserted that the development of Islam in the light of modern ideas is possible, that the Modernist tendency, as a little band numerically almost at vanishing point has in principle as good as gained for itself the tacit recognition of its justification in the bosom of the Church, that it has paved the way. But in reality, in the whole world of Islam does not the Islamic law still hold good in its full extent, except for the compulsory repeal of certain parts of it through special circumstances, like the overlordship of the European States? And there does it not more than ever prevail for the mass of the Believers as the supreme ideal?

This is the case, or rather it was the case, till a few years ago. For to-day the demands of the Modernists, even leaving out of consideration the Muslim Soviet States, which of course bear a certain foreign impress, have permeated a country of Islam one of the few independent states of the Islamic world, namely Turkey. And this fact may really be of paramount importance.

For a long time indeed nothing in the realm of Islam has so astonished the world as the events in Turkey since 1921-22, beginning with the declaration of Turkey as a republic and the abolition of the Caliphate. No wonder that the judgment of the proceedings, which are not yet complete, was and is very uncertain. But the fact is that it is exceedingly hard to get at a just picture of the events in Turkey, and harder still to arrive at just judgment. The proceedings of the new Turkey have frequently been regarded as a distinct break with Islam. Even in the East itself this view is often met with among Europeans. The suppression of the time-honoured office of Caliph, the gradual bringing about of the separation of church and state, the secularisation of public instruction, the prohibition of religious orders, all might be advanced in proof of this. And in addition to all this the almost

compulsory introduction of western manners and customs might point in the same direction.

What makes the review of all these events so enormously difficult is that the action of the leading men of the Turkish republic takes place under pressure of special political conditions, both within the country and without. We may not overlook the fact that the position of Turkey hitherto could never be regarded as finally secure, that she was never quite freed from the danger of war. The circumstance justifies even regulations which would be unnecessary under normal conditions. And specially we have to beware of judging measures of Turkish Government by the effect they would have with ourselves, for in fact the hypotheses are absolutely different.

If we consider all these we shall then be compelled to say that all the movements of Turkey really amount to nothing else than the realisation of the aims of that Modernist tendency which we got to recognise above as the Nationalistic. The separation of church and state was certainly one of the avowed items of their programme. The Caliphate, the abolishment of which for political reasons was really inevitable after the Turkish war of Liberation, is in truth a purely secular and not a religious office, even though the leaders of the new state may themselves have been in doubt about it. Dervishdom, however, has often been a supporter of the superstitious "innovations" attacked by all the currents of reform; in fact, it itself is indisputably just such an innovation, and very far from compatible with the original Islam. We shall then only be able to see in the attitude of the Government a move against Islam, so long as we understand by that the so-called "historical" Islam, *i.e.*, the later political and cultural system which threatens to perpetuate the cultural condition of the Middle Ages. But the "original Islam" as the reformers imagine it, the heart and soul of Islam as a religion, is never touched by it. Of course this distinction is not made by the adherents of the old Islam, and therefore for them nearly all reform measures appear as a breach with Islam. But they are

not so intended, nor have they that effect. Indeed, and this corresponds exactly with the ideas of the Nationalists, in place of the so-called Islamic or Oriental civilisation which is bound to be given up, Western civilisation must surely come. And this change is sometimes hastened by drastic means. But in spite of this Islam as a religion is held fast by the populace, even by those who are followers of the new movement.

Of course the question is constantly raised whether this reform can be really sound and strong, whether it is not artificially hastening on the development. For us, in our day, there is no final answer. But one cannot forget that the great psychological change before which we stand in wonder to-day was long in preparation, that the *rapprochement* to the West which began some hundred years or so ago, pressed on with ever-increasing force since the beginning of this century—even making its greatest progress during the Great War, and that finally, and this is actually the deciding point, the frightful experience of the Turkish War of Liberation in 1919 cleared the way for the new movement.

The change in Turkey is indeed a stupendous one. Of course in order to get a just idea of the present situation of the country one cannot judge by conditions in Constantinople, and perhaps still less by those in the new capital, Angora, it is only in the country, in the towns of the interior of Anatolia that we really see that the innovations are by no means only innovations on paper. Externals naturally strike one first, but even measures such as the alteration of dress gain upon closer observation a deeper significance from the circumstances. There is actually a wide-spread and essential change of mind, a set towards the clear perception of the new needs. The new regulation of public instruction, for example, which is thoroughly animated by the modern spirit, and which is far from being only a paper regulation, as it is often called, is welcomed by many in the nation. And the whole social fabric is on the verge of change. This is specially obvious in regard to the position of women. Their

situation, in truth, is already much nearer to that of European women than it is to that of Oriental women of former times. The suppression of polygamy by law in the year 1926 was not much more than a natural consequence.

Of course it must be emphasised that the development is not yet complete. It goes without saying that much that is old lives on alongside of the new, in fact the old often preponderates. Only one who has absolutely no notion of historical evolution could expect anything else. But the general impression still is that in this proverbially indolent country there is activity, and activity of a systematic sort. At times the usefulness of it is to us doubtful, but when we have once or twice made the discovery that things seemingly unintelligible turn out quite comprehensible from the complication of circumstances, then we shall be more cautious in our judgment in cases where we do not understand. In any case the new element is the stronger and is gaining in strength daily.

Certainly all the dangers are not yet overcome. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, they threaten to come more from without than within, and indeed it would only be in conjunction with an external force that a reaction could ever contrive to gain the mastery, more or less, over the new movement. And even so a return to the old narrow standpoint is as good as barred. For many innovations, as *e.g.*, the changes in the structure of society, from their very nature will not suffer a retrograde movement.

If we therefore judge the movement in Turkey correctly, it is not anti-Islamic. The Turkish nation will not cease to be a Muslim nation even if the new tendency completely carries the day. What we see there is only the great endeavour, strenuously made, to convert into a reality the nationalistic idea of Islam as Ziyā Gök Alp first conceived it, in gradual change and development. The Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages is being abandoned. Secularisation of the state and of the whole life is taking place. But Islam as a religion in the form of the

so-called "original Islam" remains untouched. What effect secularisation will have upon it in the long run remains to be seen. It is not impossible that the religion may gain by it. In any case, in my opinion, there is no reason and so far no apparent sign that Islam may not in the end come to a compromise with it just as Christendom has done.

What significance now have the movements in Turkey for the whole of the Islamic world? First it must be confirmed that what happened in Turkey awoke a loud echo in many other lands of Islam. The abolishment of the Caliphate created a situation which they faced at first with utter helplessness, but towards which they found themselves finally compelled to adopt some attitude. The attempt of the newly-made King of the Ḥijāz, Ḥusain, to profit by it and himself ascend the vacant throne of the Caliph—not to mention his speedy fall—is, as a purely political move, of less importance to us than the vigorous change of thought in the lands which hitherto we have been in the habit of regarding as representing, along with Turkey, the sphere of spiritual development in the East,—India and Egypt.

In India the end of the Osmanic Caliphate came as an extremely heavy blow to Islam, and certainly the Caliphate agitation was supported even by those of very modernistic opinions, in fact—which was rather remarkable—even by *Shī'*ite circles. The less practical contact they had had with the Osmanic Caliph, the greater apparently was the symbolic meaning which they attached to the title.

But in Egypt the opposition between the orthodox and the modernist tendency found its sharpest expression upon this very question of the Caliphate. A modernistic Sheikh, a pupil of Muḥammed 'Abduh, 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāzik, excited it by disputing in one of his own writings the traditional idea of its being the lawful duty of the community to instal a Caliph, in other words declared the question of the Caliphate to be irrelevant to the religion. The book evoked tremendous wrath in Azhar circles, as well as almost in the whole of the press, although it appears

fairly restrained in its style and tries to prove the new conclusion more or less along the familiar lines of Islamic scholarship. It was precisely the intrinsic weakness which lies in this scarcely tenable superficiality that gave the Azhar scholars something to go upon in their quarrel with the author, which ended with the deposition of the learned Sheikh from his judgeship, and also—which showed the great effect of the bold declaration—resulted in a ministerial crisis. Although the old orthodox tendency was here victorious, probably it was so only because of the very startling boldness and frankness of the theses of the modernistic Sheikh. And a work like the great book upon the Caliphate by the Egyptian Tanhūrī, who was educated in France, which in sum tries to save as much as possible of the traditional view, and perhaps in this very particular may be taken as typical of the views of many Egyptians of modern education, has in principle abandoned the basis of the strictly orthodox position nearly as much, and only just avoids the indiscretion of drawing the full conclusions. His accommodative theology,—if we may so term the standpoint,—is as such symbolical of the period of transition; but as the product of a compromise which is in reality a false one, it could not, in the long run, be of much value.

It is perhaps no less symbolical of the intellectual condition of present-day Egyptians that a man like Aḥmed a*sh-Sh*aukī, the most celebrated and highly esteemed contemporary Egyptian poet, can congratulate the Turks upon the dissolution of the Caliphate.

As in the question of the Caliphate, summarily disposed of by the Turks, we see from other examples also that the present time is for Egypt a time of intellectual schism. A treatise by a professor at the Egyptian University, Ṭā-hā Ḥusain, upon pre-Islamic Arabic poetry raised a storm hardly less violent than that caused by 'Abd ar-Rāzik's book, as he occasionally subjected even the Koran to a historically critical review. The treatise in fact, was finally suppressed but his dismissal from office, urged by the orthodox, did not this time materialise.

To come to apparently external things (things which however have a very real symbolical meaning), when we see the question raised in Egypt about the covering of the head, then here the effect of the Turkish example is as clear as can be. But when, also in Egypt a law to limit and render more difficult polygamy and divorce is being opposed, coincidence with Turkish measures is certainly not purely accidental. And to-day too, the appearence of women in public places unveiled has incidentally become an accomplished fact.

As these few examples show, the effect of the Turkish reforms upon Egypt is unmistakable. And what is true of Egypt is true of the whole world of Islam in degrees varying according to the distance in space and the stage of modern development. Certainly Turkey alone of all modern domains—apart from the Turks of Russia, who are under special influences—has decidedly and deliberately broken with the civilisation of Islam of the Middle Ages. Here only has Modernism so far gained a complete victory. But its powerful advance is going on everywhere and the Turkish example has strengthened its power of extension. The almost unexpectedly unyielding position of the strictly orthodox circles in Egypt is perhaps not any symbol of strength but rather of weakness, and is to be explained from their recognition of the danger which threatens the position of authority which hitherto has been entirely in their own possession. Also, their preliminary victory over the avowed Modernists, as is to be seen in the case of the Caliphate question, is probably to be explained by the fact that the great bulk of moderate Modernists are still holding back chiefly from fear of the ultimate conclusions. The unity of public opinion plainly evinced in this case was shown in negation or refusal of the ultimate results, but did not take any positive form. For the great majority of Muslims of more or less Western culture, estimated by the "Muslimá World" at, from 6 to 10, millions all over the world, even though it may primarily desire an attitude of suitable compromise, is still no longer orthodox in the strict sense of the

word, but though often hazy and confused is really modernistic in spirit, and will of itself gradually press onwards in that direction.

Naturally it was not to be expected as a matter of course that the other Muslim peoples would blindly follow the Turkish example. For the same hypotheses are not to be found everywhere. The Turks had for long, in fact always, in many respects stood closer to the West than the other Orientals, and it only needed the convulsing events of the Great War to open the way in Turkey to present-day reforms. Neither is the path which Turkey has followed the only possible path to reform. In Turkey, as we have seen, two modern tendencies were in clear opposition to each other. That here the more straightforward, the,—if you will,—less philosophically religious, the more culturally advanced, has gained the day is the result of special political developments. It is not bound to be exactly the same in other lands. But still the direction in which all the main reforms are moving is, consciously or not, approximately the same. And so the example of Turkey cannot be quite without effect. Already it is striking answering chords everywhere. It is no longer merely Western technique, it is the whole of Western civilisation, its thought as well, that the world of Islam has followed, in so far as it is not a question of less civilised Africa or similar new territories of Islam. The most striking example is the political Nationalism which in the war proved far more attractive than the conceptions which arose from the sphere of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages. But it is undoubtedly foreign to this world and altogether irreconcilable with it. By the victory of Nationalism, not only with the Turks, and of course not with them first, the idea of Pan-Islamism is finished with once for all.

Pan-Islamism finished with? Yes, for have not the conquests of Muṣṭafā Kemāl over the Greeks, the heroic resistance of ʿAbd el-Kerīm to the French, found an enthusiastic echo in the whole world of Islam? Was Ghāzī Pasha not actually

regarded as the pioneer of the freedom of the Muslim nations all over the world? This is indeed the case; nay more, even beyond the world of Islam the peoples of Asia rejoiced over the Turkish victories in Anatolia. And there is no doubt that to-day among the Muslim nations there exists, with a strength and clearness which it hardly ever before possessed, a feeling of the mutuality of their interests. This feeling, the growth and spread of which is furthered by modern means of communication and by the press, is, to be sure, partly a belated result of the influence of Jemāl ad-Dīn Afghānī. But it has nothing to do with what is usually and properly understood since the era of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism is a religious and political movement in the sense of the Middle Ages; it aims more or less at the realisation of the old legal ideal of the *one* community, church and state in *one*—under *one*—leader. In reality it takes no account at all of the thought of the nation. It gathers the Faithful, whether as individuals or groups, into a great religious and political unity. The feeling of mutuality which we see to-day pervading the world of Islam binds together—to put it clearly and exactly—not the individual believers but the nation. A modern Indian once said to me,—"Jemāl ad-Dīn Afghāni taught us to feel ourselves Muslims first and Indians after; but Turkey made it clear that we are Indians first and Muslims after." What to-day binds together the peoples of the Islamic East is not a religious and political aim. The aim is political,—and according to the movement includes also non-Islamic peoples and groups,—it is freedom and independence in relation to Western authority. The movement is the reaction produced by the over-pressure of Western Imperialism, the Asia for Asiatics movement.

Of course what has been said applies only to principles. Naturally it is not to be said that the feelings which we are in the habit of defining as Pan-Islamic are never and nowhere to be met with to-day. No, even the Asia for Asiatics movement, with the masses of the less educated, as also with less advanced nations in general, may now and then have a distinct streak of

Pan-Islamism. In this sense Pan-Islamism may to-day even still represent a force with which, for example, European states with Islamic colonies have occasionally still to reckon seriously. But in this sense only. Pan-Islamism in the strict sense of the word,—and it seems to me of critical importance to make up our minds upon the point,—is a force of the past which is essentially at an end.

On the other hand, even if the fundamental veering round of the general feeling from the political and religious Pan-Islamism to the purely political "Asia for Asiatics" movement has penetrated the consciousness of Oriental nations, as indeed is the case to-day, the peoples who embrace Islam feel far more closely connected with each other than with non-Islamic peoples. Alongside the political bond of opposition to the political and economic dominion of the West which unites the Oriental nations in the "Asia for Asiatics" movement, there is a religious bond as well within the Muslim world of nations. But the mutuality produced by this bond is no more of a religious and political sort than that of the Asia for Asiatics movement. Neither is it, like the latter, of a political sort, but purely religious and cultural. If we review the facts which point to an ever-increasing feeling amongst the peoples of Islam of a community fixed by religion it is evident how far removed we already are from Pan-Islamism. It is an oft-proved fact that the sense of the unity of religion to-day tends to disregard the limits of creed. Not only do people no longer think of regarding, as they did 100 years ago, the Wahhābis as outside the Islamic Church. Even in the relations of the Sunnites with the Shī'-ites we are beginning to see more and more clearly the common element across the gulf once apparently so unbridgeable. The consciousness of this first came to the Russian Turks, who indeed were conspicuous leaders in the modern development of Islam, and influenced the Osmanic Turks in this direction. There, as Goldziher demonstrated in 1910, religious instruction was imparted in common to Sh'ites and Sunnites.

In Iraq, too, even before the Great War, a *rapprochement* of the two creeds was plainly noticeable. The admission of Indian Shī'ites to the Osmanic Caliphate after the War is only in some degree comprehensible from this new state of things. As a specially notable example we may here refer to the fact that the Wahhābi ruler of Arabia invited—although vainly Shī'ite Persia to the Islamic Congress held in Mecca in 1926. If one now considers that the differences between the various creeds in Islam are in their origin and nature of a political and religious kind, it becomes quite clear that their approach to a Pan-Islamism, which stands for an attempt at the practical depreciation of the old political and religious ideals of the Church, is quite impossible. It is unthinkable without consciously or unconsciously giving up the unlimited authority of the religious impulse, in the sense of the Middle Ages, over the whole of human life.

To-day also, there are political currents and common religious interests binding together the nations of the world of Islam, and both may well occasionally work together for the same end. But they are purely distinct in their nature and have nothing to do with the religious and political bond of Pan-Islamism in the true sense of the word. The best illustration of this fact is offered by the spectacle of the two International Islamic Congresses of the year 1926,—the Congress of Mecca which seems to have had a positive practical significance but no political characteristic, and the Congress of the Caliphate in Cairo, which tried to bring the question of the Caliphate nearer to a solution in the old way, upon a political and religious basis, and failed miserably. These facts are eloquent enough. Unsought and unrecognised but irresistibly nevertheless, secularisation of thought has been introduced, and to-day the quarrel is not so much, perhaps, over its actual accomplishment as over the conviction of it and the drawing of conclusions from it.

In truth the modernisation of Islam has already become a reality—a reality far more powerful than can be grasped from the

outside at a first glance. For it is only occasionally—as, thanks to the peculiar setting, in the case of the Turks,—that this modernisation stares us in the face by a sharp breach between the new mode of thought and the old. The old ways of thought remain long in existence alongside the new, and then the development comes about in such a way that the old forms of thought are gradually and imperceptibly endowed with new meaning, before the new casts off the form which is no longer in keeping with it.

The change is substantiated with astonishment by many close observers of to-day. But its meaning seems to me to be often misunderstood. Thus, as regards the hopes at present being raised in Christian Muhammadan Mission circles, C. H. Becker's opinion might well be taken as correct, that "Islam will be modernised a thousand times sooner than Christianised." Ideas like the thought expressed by Muḥammed 'Abduh, and startling in a man otherwise so conservative, that certain (Protestant) movements of Christendom deviate from Islam only in name and ritual but not in meaning, are on a totally different line from the idea of a Christianisation of Islam. They are on the same level as the assertion made to me by a representative of Turkish Modernism, that the time will surely come when the great religions like Christianity and Islam recognise that fundamentally they are one, and the externals which constitute the difference will be abandoned as such. Such ideas lead right into the midst of the religious perception of the enlightenment towards which Islam probably is really very favourably inclined. They show how far, at least with individuals, modernisation already goes to-day. But just as, say, in Germany evangelical and Catholic ministers of the enlightenment period, who rendered each other mutual pastoral services, did not therefore become any less evangelical or Catholic, so far is the Muslim who thinks thus from ceasing on that account to be a Muslim.

It is startling to see how, in few decades, Islam attempts to catch up with a century-long development of Christianity,

often with an astonishing similarity of ways and means, and perhaps in this again betraying the connection of the origin and being of the two religions. For long it was both so comfortable and so pleasant to predict a speedy end to the seemingly torpid Islam, and what we see to-day seems to many to be the verification of the prediction. We do not claim to prophesy the future, we know not whither it will lead Islam. But indeed there seems to me to be no reason whatever, no symptom to be shown in support of pronouncing upon Islam a judgment so much gloomier than that pronounced upon Christianity. Much rather does it seem that the essential connection of the two sister religions, which divergent lines of development for a time rendered obscure until the most recent history of Islam brings it afresh before our minds, has predestined for both the same fate in the future, be it favourable or unfavourable.

T. H. WEIR

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

FELLOW TEACHERS AND COMRADES,

My first words on this occasion must be words of thanks to you for the great honour you have shown me by asking me to preside over your deliberations to-day. Standing before you, as I pay my humble tribute to your distinguished past Presidents, I recognise my insignificance in the sphere of education. You have had on your rolls Dr. P. C. Ray, the architect of the great school of chemistry in India, who has dedicated his life to the cause of education and of national service. In Sir Provaschandra Mitter, you had the first Minister of Education in Bengal and an imperial statesman in the Chair. Principal G. C. Bose and Principal Herambachandra Maitra, *bona-fide* teachers for half a century, whose lofty ideals and moral character have inspired numberless scholars, gave you the benefit of their accumulated experience and powerful assistance. In Reverend Dr. Urquhart and Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary you found two veteran educationists, two experienced administrators, two of our former Vice-Chancellors. Mr. J. Chowdhury and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee represented fearless criticism and journalistic enterprise. Both of them started life as teachers, both of them turned grey in the service of the motherland, still continue as teachers in their associations, outlook of life and aspirations. In Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, you found a chip of the old block, devoted to the cause of teachers in schools and colleges alike in these provinces.

My gratitude is also due to the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the organisers of this Conference and the local public. Here in Jessore, sitting crowned on the delta of the Ganges and the Hooghly, one's historical imagination is fired when one travels down the stream of time. Is this Yuan Chwang's Samatata? Is this the place where Itsing's Hoh-lo-shi-pota

* Delivered by P. N. Bauerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, at the Eleventh Session of the All Bengal Teachers' Conference at Narail (Jessore).

reigned ? Is this the place where the Pala and the Sena Kings reigned and governed? Here lies Khan Jahan Ali, the warrior saint in eternal sleep. Here in this "Supremely glorious city" was enacted the tragedy of Pratapaditya. Here did Kalishankar Roy offer stubborn fight against the sepoys of Henkell. Here the Indigo riots of 1860 gave vent to the spirit of discontent and struck a deep blow at the monopolistic tyranny of the planters. And here to-day by your deliberations and your concerted action you will overcome the difficulties which lie deeply-rooted in your way.

I have watched the rise and growth of your association with the deepest interest. I recall to my memory that day eight years ago when I first came across your Secretary, Mr. Monoranjan Sengupta, at the house of a great friend of yours. I was sceptical myself about the success of the new venture which he had undertaken, and a friend of mine who heard your Secretary expound the position of the teachers whispered into my ears the oft-quoted slogan: "these gentlemen are baying the moon, all that they want is to secure a market for their books." Your association, my friends, have to pass through the four stages of the development of any institution in the world: the period of public indifference; the stage of derision and contempt; the period of violent opposition; and the era of absorption and infiltration of your views. You may indeed feel proud of your achievements during the span of the last ten years.

The following figures giving an account of the progress of your organisation tell this tale :—

Session	Members (each school regarded as a unit)	Receipts	Expenditure
		Rs.	Rs.
1924	264	1,460	1,264
1925	462	4 240	3,191
1926	582	10,416	8,987
1927	799	13,266	7,656
1928	827	16,797	9,749
1929	826	20,370	10,372
1930	862	23,272	12,088
1931	(estimated)	36,626	21,565

You have now schools affiliated from every district. You are likely to have in the present year a closing balance of about Rs. 15,000. The Co-operative Relief Society has been started under your auspices for the benefit of the teachers. The Teachers' Benefit Fund opened by you to help the widows and orphans of poor teachers, has this year to its credit about Rs. 7,000. Your annual district conferences afford an opportunity for teachers of the district to meet and discuss important educational problems sometimes in association with distinguished educationists who are not teachers in the strict sense of the term. Circumstanced as we are, every great social, religious, moral reformer of this country beginning from Raja Rammohan Roy to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee must be and have been educationists as well. Your journal has already secured a niche in the public life of Bengal and bids fair to rise to the authority and position of " the school master " in England. It was as a result of the unceasing activities of your executive that the School Code was passed by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University and the Arbitration Board, although in a truncated form, has started to function. It is a matter of personal gratification to me that my dreams about the School Code and the Central Arbitration Board have partially been realised. I notice with pleasure that fifty per cent. of the income of your association is derived from the sale-proceeds of *Sahitya Chayan*. The story of the adoption of this book by the Central Text Book Committee is indeed romantic and the thanks of the Association are entirely due to Mr. J. R. Barrow, whose premature retirement from service this association has good reasons to mourn.

You are sometimes accused of fostering a spirit of commercialism and of trade-unionism. Our ill-paid and half-fed teachers are called upon by our critics to sacrifice themselves at the altar of knowledge. I ask these critics in all humility how can our teachers enjoy the joy of acquiring and creating knowledge? How can they communicate that knowledge to others when they themselves cannot possibly, under the existing circum-

stances, feel enthusiastic about themselves? The value of any organisation is great, but the value of a professional organisation of teachers is greater even than the well-disciplined organisation of an army: the one gives opportunity to the study of the pure problem of organisation, the other raises passions and strife: the one recognises the individual worth of man, the other bolsters up standardisation. From whatever point of view we look upon this question, whatever argument we apply,—argument from precedent, argument from development, argument from consequences,—we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that a professional organisation of teachers bases its claim on the need for self-protection and possibly, in its initial stages, its views are frankly materialistic, but as the days roll by, when the status is firmly recognised, the organisation develops a national ideal based on sacrifice and service to the community; and by its sheer momentum progresses towards the desired goal. The aim of the association is twofold: (*i*) to promote and safeguard the professional interest of teachers of secondary schools, to secure for the profession its legitimate place in national life and (*ii*) to advance the cause of education in general, and secondary education in particular. The lawyers in England have their guild—the Inns of Court; the doctors, their Council of Medical Education and the teachers their strongest organisation called the National Union of Teachers. Founded in 1870, after the passing of the great Education Act, it had to start with only 400 members without any subscriptions. To-day its members number 134,730 and includes among its members teachers employed in secondary and technical schools, training colleges and even Universities. Like our association, the National Union of Teachers in England is a professional organisation; similarly it has one executive, one policy, one set of generally admitted benefits. Its supreme authority is the Annual Conference of representatives elected by local and country associations, which assembles at Easter. The National Union of Teachers by a perfected organisation has raised the

status of teachers, compelled the acceptance of the Burnham scale of pay by the State, freed education to some extent from the trammels of traditional clerical control and, by insisting on a system of registration, has greatly improved the academic qualifications of its members and has given tone to educational policy in general. Macaulay's exaggerated pen-picture of the common schoolmaster in 1847 now appears to be almost malicious :

" The common teacher is the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in rule of three, men who do not know whether the earth is a sphere or a cube, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or in America."

The lot of a teacher in a secondary school in Bengal is indeed sad. He no longer enjoys the heritage of the traditional reverence. He suffers from the psychological illusion of inferiority complex. His pay is ridiculously small. His security of tenure is even now dependent on the pleasure of the managing committee or of the Education Department. His prospects in his professional life are few. His freedom is cramped on the one hand by departmental rules, and on the other hand by the needs of the Matriculation Examination to which he has to direct all his surplus energies after struggle with poverty and want. And his life is scarcely sweetened by the domiciliary visits of inspection.

" The Secondary Education System," said the Sadler Commission, " is suffering from pernicious anæmia. There can be no substantial improvement without reconstruction. The existing system cannot be patched up. What is needed is far-reaching organisation." The pernicious anæmia has, during the last twelve years that the Sadler Commission report has been slumbering, developed an atrophy of the heart. " The Matriculation Examination is the mainspring of the existing machinery of Secondary Education in Bengal. It is the key which unlocks the door to all the callings attractive to the respective classes

in Bengal. What the rules for the Matriculation prescribe the high schools endeavour to perform—to pass their boys through the examination which has become their dominant aim. The pressure which forces them to concentrate upon the narrow purpose is great," and yet in the framing of the curricula of studies the teachers in the secondary schools of Bengal have no share. School reform in Bengal, therefore, can be looked upon from three points of view: academic, administrative, financial. The Matriculation Examination is under the control of the Calcutta University and the University has during the last ten years been attempting in vain to introduce reforms regarding the Matriculation Examination. Ten years ago, two conferences of Head-masters and Managers recommended certain changes. These recommendations were adopted by the Senate and a vigilant Government did not find time or inclination to sanction these changes in the regulations. These proposals have recently been resurrected and the University contemplates vital changes in the regulations relating to the Matriculation Examination. Under the proposed scheme, instruction and examination in all subjects excepting English shall be through the medium of the Vernaculars. In order to secure an efficient knowledge of English the percentage of pass-marks in English will be slightly raised. The proposed regulations also contemplate giving a vocational turn to the Matriculation Examination. To make provision for scientific teaching the traditional interests of the classical languages have been, to a certain extent, sacrificed. Classical language ceases to be a compulsory subject but those who desire to proceed to a degree in arts must have passed in a classical language. This represents a compromise between the classicists and the scientists. The two points of view may well be illustrated by the attitude of two British Prime Ministers—Gladstone and Baldwin. In 1864, Gladstone bitterly complained against "the low utilitarian argument in the matter of education for giving what is termed practical direction." Stanley Baldwin, in his foreword to Darwin's

"English Public School" however tells a different tale; "I had many ambitions as a child. One was to be a blacksmith. What more exciting than the roar of the blast, and even now I can still feel the thrill which stirred my small heart when I was allowed to work the big bellows. How exciting too the smell of the smithy! The curious acrid smell of water thrown on the red-hot iron, the warm steam of the cart horses, the burning hoof where the shoe was being fitted...How I longed to have a horny hand!" If the scheme is sanctioned by the Government of Bengal a new impulse may be given to secondary education in these provinces.

We have had, in the year 1929-30, 1,086 High English schools affiliated to the Calcutta University; 1,874 Middle English schools directly under the control of the Department of Education; 57,656 Primary schools, 3,226 Special schools; 62 schools covered by the expression "Secondary Education" intended for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Of these European and Anglo-Indian schools, 14 are Higher Secondary schools, 20 are Higher grade schools, 20 are Primary schools and 2 are ungraded. These are under the administration of the Member in charge of Education and are governed by a Code of regulations for European Schools.

The development of secondary education in Bengal under the auspices of the Calcutta University has been strikingly rapid. In 1906, 635 High schools enjoyed affiliation; in 1917 the number rose to 635; in 1926 the number swelled to 981 and this year we have about 1,100 schools within the jurisdiction of the University. Of these High English schools 48 are Government institutions, including 6 for our girl students; 3 are run by Municipal Boards; 569 schools receive grants-in-aid from the Government and 166 are unaided institutions. The system of administration of these schools is frankly dyarchic. The schools look up to the University for affiliation and disaffiliation and to the Government for the distribution of the grants-in-aid. The function of periodical inspection is carried on by departmental officers on behalf of the University.

Act II of 1857—the Act of Incorporation of the Calcutta University—had not a word to say about the High English schools. Act VIII of 1904 relegated the administration of schools to the Regulations. Under section 25 of the Act, the Senate was charged with the duty of framing regulations with the sanction of the Government. Under sub-section (2), clause (o) the University was empowered to frame regulations for " the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils as candidates for the Matriculation Examination and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for Matriculation whether sent up by recognised schools or not." Pursuant to the provisions of the Act, regulations were framed by the University and such regulations include the conditions which High schools must observe for their recognition and for the continuance thereof. The administration of these regulations has been left in the hands of the Syndicate, the chief executive authority of the University. Under the heading, " Continuance of recognition," the University insists on a regularly constituted Managing Committee, and the qualifications, character and experience of the Headmaster and the rest of the teaching staff. Owing to the steady rise in the number of schools and the increase in the complexities in the administration thereof, the Syndicate, meeting ordinarily once a week, hardly found time to deal with the questions of schools. It was on my motion that a School Committee was appointed by the Syndicate to deal with the administration of schools. In my resolution before the Syndicate I requested the Director of Public Instruction to be the President of the School Committee and asked him further to receive suggestions and advice from it about the distribution of the grants-in-aid. Mr. E. F. Oaten, the then Director, declined to serve on the Committee. The School Committee thus came into being. The School Committee is thus a nominee of the Syndicate. It is not a statutory body. It is not a creature of the Regulations, not even a child of the Senate. The

members of a Committee appointed by the University must, under the Regulations, be either members of the Senate or of the Faculties and consequently the very unrepresentative constitution of a preponderatingly nominated Senate is in the main responsible for an unrepresentative School Committee. By a curious irony of fate there does not sit on it one single Headmaster or a teacher actively engaged in teaching in our schools. One of the first acts of the School Committee was to consider the School Code. The School Code was mainly the work of the executive of your association. A committee of the Syndicate considered the School Code for five solid days and finally passed it. Proposals for the establishment of the Arbitration Board formed the pivot of that scheme. All this took place during the administration of Sir Ewart Greaves to whom your thanks are due. In his retirement in England he still thinks about your prospects and your status. After his retirement, the Education Department raised difficulties about the application of the Code to Government-Aided Schools. Frankly speaking, some of its provisions were directly in conflict with the departmental rules. Managers and interested parties violently attacked the Arbitration Board with the result that the School Code has been modified, revised and the Arbitration Board considerably whittled down. The revised School Code no longer constitutes your charter. The aided schools have been practically taken out of its orbit. The life of the Managing Committee has been prolonged from two years to three years: the security of the service of a teacher has been jeopardised by the dangerous provision that the services of a teacher may be dispensed with by the managers "on account of loss of income" or if they desire "to raise the pay of a post with a view to attract a better qualified teacher." When his services are thus dispensed with, says rule 32, he will be entitled to a gratuity not exceeding one month's salary for each completed year of service ***less the amount which the school may have contributed to his provident fund and interest accrued*** thereon. If these tests are

applied to any service in the world there will be a revolt amongst the men and women in that service. I only hope that these provisions have crept into the rule through faulty draftsmanship or inadvertence.

In our original scheme we provided for a network of district arbitration boards followed by an appellate tribunal in Calcutta. That scheme although accepted by the Syndicate has practically been repudiated by its authors excluding one. The composition of the Central Board in Calcutta is of a distinctly retrograde character. The members are all nominees either of the Senate or of the Department of Education; only one Headmaster of a non-Government school has a precarious seat on the Board. The rules do not provide for periodical retirement of members. The scheme itself is of an experimental nature and a progressive realisation of your ideals can alone be secured by successive stages. You have now covered only one mile-stone in your journey and it is up to you now to attempt to reach another stage in the evolution of your status.

The difficulties in the way of the Arbitration Board are really great. It has a serious rival in the departmental Inspector. Its awards may not always be enforceable against recalcitrant managers. The only weapons of the Syndicate are good advice which a school on the verge of a financial collapse cannot afford to follow, warnings which the disobedient may safely disregard. The only sentence which the Syndicate can pass under the Regulations is a sentence of death. Capital sentences, you know, are rarely resorted to, and if resorted to, the remedy may sometimes be worse than the disease. In my opinion, the Syndicate should retain in its hands the power of dissolving a managing committee and of erasing the names of recalcitrant managers from the voters' list.

I now come to the very important question of the pay of teachers. The salaries which we pay all grades of school teachers is contemptuously low. The inadequacy of the salaries of our teachers has been adversely commented on by reports

on Public Instruction year after year and even by the Simon Commission. Our school teachers in Bengal enjoy the lowest scale of pay even in India.

The pay of a Primary school teacher having charge of 27 pupils is Rs. 9-6*a*. per month; the pay of a teacher in a Middle English school is a mere apology for a pittance. Aided Middle English schools with 100 boys receive Rs. 150 a year as grant-in-aid from the State treasury. The pay of our teachers in Secondary schools cannot be called even a living wage. Under the rules of the Syndicate, every institution, affiliated to the Calcutta University must be able to spend Rs. 375 per month. Under the rules of the Education department, a school aspiring to aid from the Government must have at least 150 boys on its rolls, must employ 11 teachers and must be in a position to spend Rs. 540 a month. In the case of unaided schools, the University makes a distinction between Calcutta schools and Moffusil schools. In their case, the University insists on having not less than 10 teachers for 8 classes of whom at least three shall be graduates. In the case of schools in Calcutta the following scale of salary prevails :

Rs.
80
60
40
30
30
30
30
25

The following is the scale of salary for teachers in Moffusil schools :

Rs.
70
50
40
30
30
30

Thus, the minimum salary for a Headmaster in a Calcutta school is Rs. 80 and in a school in Moffusil Rs. 70 per month. These teachers have no grades: their provident funds are newly started institutions. As contrasted with their conditions, the Headmasters of most Government schools have now been placed in the Provincial Educational Service. The scale of salaries for teachers in the sister Presidency of Bombay, as compared with the salaries of our teachers, though low, appears almost generous. The grade for graduate teachers in Government schools in Bombay is Rs. 70-200-250-300; in non-Government schools the grade for such teachers is Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 and for under-graduate teachers Rs. 30 to 60.

This brings me to the vexed question of finance and assistance from the coffers of the State. We are perfectly aware of the official recipe. Even a sympathetic inspector like Dr. Jenkins in the course of his presidential address in a district conference lamented the existence of too many High schools in Bengal. He admitted that an efficient school with a contented staff cannot be run at a monthly income of less than Rs. 900 a month. His diagnosis is accurate but I do not agree with his method of treatment. He would enforce rigid uniformity of fees : he would grant aid in mathematical proportion to the size of the school and like a Spartan of old would hurl down the weak schools from the hill-tops. If the University of Calcutta has, without any funds at its disposal, been spasmodically sympathetic towards our schools, the Department of Education has never been trustful or generous in its attitude towards them. The following figures collected by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, will amply bear out my statement. The total expenditure on education from the Provincial funds in Bombay represents 12·9% of the total expenditure of the Government of Bombay on all departments.

1927-28

	Provincial Funds		Board Funds		Fees		Other Sources	
	Boys' School.	Girls' School	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bombay ...	51·4	29·5	17·6	3·3	17·7	48·1	13·3	19·1
Madras ...	46·7	26·4	13·5	7·7	18·8	47·6	21·0	18·3
Bengal ...	36·1	19·2	6·1	2·9	41·2	60·8	16·6	17·1
U. P. ...	57·9	51·2	12·8	1·4	15·0	31·7	14·3	15·7
Punjab ...	56·3	36·3	14·0	7·6	18·7	42·5	11·0	13·6
Burma ...	52·6	41·7	17·2	2·3	15·8	33·4	14·4	22·6
B. & O. ...	37·7	31·0	30·0	7·4	19·3	49·3	13·3	12·3
C. P. & Berar	59·1	48·4	21·6	4·2	11·7	35·3	7·6	12·1
Assam ...	58·3	46·9	12·3	3·5	15·5	39·7	13·9	9·9
N. W. F. P.	66·2	57·6	11·6	7·7	8·8	24·4	13·4	16·3

Let us now see where Bengal stands in the matter of her trained teachers.

	M.E. Schools %	H.E. Schools %
Madras ...	81	78
Bombay ...	12	22
Bengal ...	27	12
U.P. ...	79	45
Punjab ...	68	75
Burma ...	59	59
B. & O. ...	62	32
C. P. ...	64	68
Assam ...	50	34

The Government in this country does not apparently agree with the famous dictum of John Bright: "as the school rate would rise, the poor-rate and the criminal rate will fall." The following analysis of the budget of the Government of Bengal for 1931-1932 as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council is

interesting reading: The net revenue of the Government for the current year has been estimated at Rs. 12,56,67,000.

	Budget estimate, 1931-32	Actuals, 1927	Actuals, 1928-29	Actuals, 1929-30
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Police ...	2,18,46,000	1,85,35,000	1,95,89,000	2,09,16,000
Jails ...	43,22,000	34,00,000	32,75,000	34,45,000
Education (reserved)	13,94,000	13,98,000	14,53,000	14,11,000
Education (transferred)	1,25,29,000	1,23,90,000	1,25,74,000	1,29,54,000

A further analysis of the education Budget reveals the fact that the Government spends proportionately more money on European and Anglo-Indian education than on education on the transferred side. And on the transferred the cost of maintaining Government schools and supervision and inspection thereof is wholly disproportionate to the results obtained.

1. European and Anglo-Indian Education.

	Actuals, 1927-28.	Actuals, 1928-29.	Actuals, 1929-30.	Revised, 1930-31	Budget. estimates, 1931-32.
	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government Secondary	3,83,000	3,77,000	3,87,000	3,81,000	3,79,000
Non-Govt. Secondary	3,13,000	2,92,000	3,10,000	2,98,000	2,87,000
Inspection	56,000	57,000	58,000	59,000	60,000

2. Education (Transferred Side).

	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Govt. Secondary	13,00,000	12,89,000	13,26,000	13,54,000	13,47,000
Non-Govt. Secondary.	14,67,000	14,15,000	15,54,000	14,95,000	14,04,000
Direction and Inspection.	2,22,000	2,26,000	2,33,000	2,22,000	2,23,000
	12,21,000	12,23,000	12,52,000	12,81,000	13,02,000

From the above analysis it would be clear that the cost of direction and inspection is going beyond the grant to non-Government Secondary education.

What then is the scope of inspection and supervision? Is it public audit? Is it criminal investigation? Is it the

policing of schools ? And is this army of inspectors fully qualified to discharge the obligations imposed on them? Are they really conversant and in sympathy with modern methods of teaching ? I have myself a very faint but bitter recollection of an inspection. In the noontide of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, an Inspector of Schools, just with fresh laurels from the Presidency College, visited our school. It was a great day for us. Flags were flying, the school halls were decorated and there was a subdued tone of excitement running through the school. Below the name of the school appeared in letters of amber and of gold " Long live the Inspector——." The Inspector came and visited the school. He cross-examined the teachers; displayed his knowledge and power. While on the threshold of one of the classes, his eyes got glued to the black board and he came across the ominous words— "*Bandé Mataram.*" He at once called out the boys of the whole school and ordered them to bask in the sunshine in April for three hours: the holiday in his honour was escheated to the Crown. Twenty-five years later I came across the same Inspector in the hall of a great college, standing on his legs, hat in hand, as the college chorus was singing the national anthem—*Bande Mataram* ! In England inspection of schools is protective and constructive. Inspectors are appointed according to their special aptitude and qualifications in the exploration and treatment of special problems or aspects of education. As a rule inspection of secondary schools in England take place at long intervals.

This distrustful attitude of the Government towards our teachers in non-Government schools is further reflected in the grant-in-aid rules. Officers of the Education Department sometimes hold up their hands in horror when non-teachers trespass into the field of education. And yet we are told by the Departmental rules that the Divisional Inspector is the adviser of the Divisional Commissioner and Deputy Inspector is the adviser of the District Magistrate or the Subdivisional Officer as the case

may be. Instead of granting absolute freedom to the Headmaster in academic matters, instead of giving him Dominion status in his realm, Inspectors have been empowered to supervise the promotion of pupils, the selection of candidates for the Matriculation Examination, and may compel the Headmaster to take such measures as appear to be called for. Every appointment in an aided institution is subject to the approval of the Department. The constitution of the Managing Committee, the election of the Vice-President, is subject to the approval of the District Magistrate. The Headmaster has no freedom even in the matter of selection of text-books: he has to limit his choice to the books recommended by the Central Text Book Committee and yet a particular day in the year has been set apart by the departmental rules for loyal celebrations. How can Headmasters of the type of Arnold of Rugby, Butler of Shrewesbury, Thring of Uppingham, Sanderson of Oundle and Almond of Loretto, grow and thrive under the present system?

The whole country is thoroughly sick of this system and the cure proposed by the Government is the creation of a Secondary Board of Education. Even if we exclude the still-born bills presented before the Legislative Council, the bill standing to the credit of Dr. Jenkins does not concede autonomy to his proposed board, or enlarge the scope of its useful activities. His Board of 25 members consists of 8 representatives of the two Universities appointed by a compartmental system, 4 officials, 7 nominated members, 2 representatives of the Bengal Legislative Council, a girl teacher and only 3 teachers elected by the teachers of non-Government schools and of these one must be a headmaster, another a Muhammadan. The third appointment may go to a teacher of the thousand and odd non-Government institutions. The functions of the Board are of a strictly limited character. The Calcutta University will still retain control over the Matriculation Examination and consequently the examination fees. The inspecting, clerical and menial staff are the appointees of the local Government, their

salaries are payable by the local Government. Powers have been reserved to the salaried President which should in truth be exerciseable by the entire Board. The local Government reserves to itself not only the power to veto rules and regulations proposed by the Board but also retains the right of initiative. The local Government further retains the power of dissolution and may suspend the operation of any order or resolution of the Board and also pass a prohibitory order of injunction. Is this the picture of an autonomous Board, where academic interests are likely to preponderate ? Do not such reactionary proposals invite our attention with poignant bitterness to the objections of Disraeli to the interference of the State in matters of education? " It is a system of a barbarous age, the system of paternal Government; wherever was found what was called a paternal Government was found a state education. It had been discovered that the best way to secure implicit obedience is to commence tyranny in the nursery."

So long I have been talking about your fundamental rights. Permit me now, Gentlemen, to make a rapid reference to your fundamental duties. You are the builders of the nation. You are devotees in the temple of Learning; pilgrims in search for Truth. You have to dedicate your lives to the cause of education. You will have to fit the boys and girls under your care for the hard struggle for life. You have to develop their personality, their character, their health. The report of the Medical Officer appointed by the Government of Bengal and the report of the Students' Welfare Committee are dismal reading. Dr. Banerjee examined 11,746 boys in 169 different schools in Bengal and his conclusion is that on the whole 62% of the boys have more than one disease or some defect in their systems.

The report of the Students' Welfare Committee is as follows :—

" 40% of the 20,000 boys examined in Colleges suffer from malnutrition. Out of every 10 students examined only 3 are perfectly fit and healthy for their age ; 6 are on a definitely

infirm plane of health and strength—either from some disability or some failure of development and the remaining one is quite incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion."

What a sad comment on the future builders of the race! For Greeks a blush, for Greece a tear.

The average expectation of life in England is 48·53, in Japan 43·97, in U.S.A. 49·32 and in India 22·59. We in the University have attempted to make physical education in our schools compulsory in vain. Lack of funds, long hours of work for boys and teachers, long distances which the pupil and the master have to travel to reach the school, starvation wages of the masters, malnutrition of the pupils—have all stood against our efforts. And yet we trust, you my friends will try your best to see that the boys and girls under your charge learn how to take care of their health. Arnold's Monitorial System though rusty has not yet been exploded. Games you will encourage and teach your boys and girls the value of organisations.

Teach your boys and girls truthfulness, obedience to duty and authority. Tell them self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control lead life to sovereign power. On their dutifulness

> "Flowers will laugh from their beds
> And fragrance in their footing treads."

The sense of discipline amongst our boys in the turbid waters of politics may have grown slack and yet they must be taught that they who want to command to-morrow must obey to-day. Let not sneakishness be encouraged amongst your pupils. Let them like Nelson tell you: "Fear? we do not know what is fear." Let them learn to love their country wisely and well.

> "Love thou thy land with love far brought
> From out the storied past
> And used within the present and transfused
> Through future time the power of thought
> True love that turns round on fixed poles
> Love that endures not sordid ends."

Arnold's greatest ambition in life was to make every boy (*i*) a Christian, (*ii*) a gentleman and (*iii*) an educated person. May you follow the example of this great headmaster! As I close this address, there stretches before me a glorious vista of the future. Our motherland raised to her full stature; the architects of our nation renowned for world-scholarship, for world-invention, conserving the old, stimulating the new, hardening the sinews of youth. We shall by our improved methods of education unlock the gates of joy and wonder in the heart. We shall call for a new burst of poetry; we shall hear the music of the soul; we shall make our homes brighter and joyous. We shall also have our place in the Sun.

Let me now close my address by recalling to your minds the burning words used on a different occasion by one whose memory I hold so dear:

"Unalterable is my faith as to your bright future because I feel yours must be a national organisation, self-reliant though bound in service to the nation, adapting yourself to the manifold and the varying wants of the community from generation to generation. I call upon you, fellow teachers, to join with me in the words of the poet in a solemn pledge of eternal devotion to the Spirit of our Motherland, the protecting divinity of our organisation:

স্বদেশ আমার! তোমার সেবায় এ ব্রত লইনু আজি—
পূজিতে তোমারে আনিব খুঁজিয়া ধরণীর ধনরাজি।
তুমি যদি চাও প্রাণ প্রিয়ধন—দ্বিধা না জাগিবে মনে
শুধাবনা কথা, প্রফুল্লবদনে এনে দেব ও চরণে
আমার প্রাণের প্রীতি হবে দেবি! তব পূজা উপচার
অবাধে সকলি সঁপিয়া তোমায় লইব সেবার ভার॥

I vow to thee, my country—
all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love—
The love that asks no question,
the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar
the dearest and the best :
The love that never falters,
the love that pays the price
The love that makes undaunted
the final Sacrifice."

Reviews

Rama Charita of Abhinanda—Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Royal 8vo, pp. 467 and xxxii. Critically edited with an introduction by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Baroda.

This volume is a welcome addition to H. H. the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and presents us with a poetical work of great merit and elegance. The author, Abhinanda, Abhinandana, Aryavilasa or Satananda flourished during the later classical period and was looked upon as a poet of rare merits even during his life-time. Many of his verses have been quoted by later writers and have found place in anthologies like the *Kavindra-vachana-samucchya* or *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.

The poem is complete in forty cantos and opens with a description of Rama's anguish consequent upon the carrying off of Sita, and ends with the departure of Rama for his capital after conquering Ravana. The general plot is almost the same as in the Ramayana but the author deviates from the traditional account in some places. These have been noted by the learned editor in the introduction.

The peculiarities of style and composition have been pointed out by the learned editor, who also engages in a learned discussion as to the date of the poet and the locality of his birth. He has identified the poet with one of the great writers who flourished in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla kings. Hāravarṣa, the poet's patron, has been proved by the learned editor to be no one else than Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla. There are good grounds for accepting this suggestion.

The book has been carefully printed and is free from misprints. Both the editor as well as the general editor are to be congratulated on this.

N. C. B.

Uphill Steps in India—By Miss M. L. Christlieb. Cr. 8vo, pp. 254, published by George Allan and Unwin, Ltd., London, Price 6/-

This small volume of 254 pages embodies the thirty-three years' experience of an English lady in India and each one of the twenty chapters into which it is divided, is full of interest. The writer gives us

a picture of the real life of Southern India which was her field of activity. Her zeal and vocation gave her a chance for studying the conditions of life and to have an insight into the mentality of the people. Her narrative is full of incidents from real life. Dedicating her life to the cause of social uplift in India, she mixed freely with the common folk and this gave her the requisite opportunity for noting the peculiar superstitions and ideas of the people among whom she spent the best part of her life. The pages of her small volume are well written and give vivid descriptions of the social ills which still linger in India. Some chapters are of special interest and of these may be mentioned, the chapter on life 'among the low caste,' and the 'solitary' (Chaps. IX and XVIII).

The book is well written and the authoress takes care not to present us with overdrawn pictures. She condemns caste tyranny and social narrowness but does not fail to point out instances of exceptions. She has much to say against the callous indifference of officialdom to the prevailing conditions, though her zeal as a missionary makes her place too much reliance upon Christianity as the only remedy for the abuses.

N. C. B.

Development of Indian Railways—By Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Econ.), (London), Lecturer in Transport, Department of Commerce, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1930.

This interesting account of the development of Indian Railways is written with the greatest care. All authoritative sources of information have been examined and every statement is properly supported by reference in the numerous footnotes to the authorities. The book will appeal to the lay reader who cares to understand the rise and development of railways and the types of ownership and management through which the Railway organisation has been conducted in the different periods of its history. Railway policy and financial administration have not been eschewed altogether. Realising fully that railway policy with reference to fares, rates and financial administation would vary with the economic needs of the country he has pointed out the necessary changes required in the field of railway law and the scientific determination of rates and fares in the economic interest of the country.

His practical training in railway operation and commercial work has enabled him to discuss intimately the question of gauge, and alignments,

working and traffic results. " Uniformity of gauge on the broad standard should be our objective," says the author. Another important thing which the author rightly recognises is the wise understanding of the transportation problem as a whole. Road, water, railway and air transport problem cannot be isolated and studied individually with any great advantage.

The vexed topic of Company *versus* State management of railways receives proper emphasis and the author inclines to the view that the German example of both State as well as Company management may offer the ideal solution for India. One thing is certain, *viz.*, the reopening of this subject with the progressive development of the democratic form of Government.

Another oft-discussed and least understood subject is " the separation of railway finance " and the author inclines to the view that there ought to be a " complete separation so that in any future scheme there should be no room left for the jealousy either of the Finance Department of the Government of India or of the Indian Legislature."

He has done ample justice to the subject and the historical division of the subject would enable the reader to grasp the broad outline of development easily.

His bibliography is comprehensive and undoubtedly enables the more conscientious reader to have an idea of the more rigid problems of railway management and finance.

Some of his suggestions could be safely elaborated, for example, his wise suggestion of co-ordination in the matter of inland transport. A more scrutinising survey of the results of the separation of Railway finance would have been welcome. Some detailed suggestions in the matter of the revision of the Railway Act of 1890 would have heightened the utility of the book.

As the story of the Railway development is carried down to 1928-1929, it is quite possible that it will hold the field as a suitable introductory textbook on Indian railways for a long time to come. Without bringing in technical terms the author has succeeded in placing a compact survey of the Indian railway system and organisation as a whole.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Types of Economic Theory—By Othmar Spann—English Translation of the 19th Revised Edition, 1930. Pp. 329—George Allen and Unwin.

Eschewing altogether the object of writing a history of economic doctrines the author tries to concisely formulate a critique of some of

the main theories and systems of political economy. The method pursued throughout the book has been to briefly expound the theories of the earlier writers and then enter upon a critical dissertation of the theory. There are good though brief snapshots of some doctrines of economic theory such as mercantilism, physiocratic doctrines, individualism, free trade and protection. As a keen student of English Text Books on Economic theory the reviewer has undoubtedly seen better and more lucid expositions of the above doctrines but what interests most the Indian students in general is the chapter on Political Economy in Germany. It is refreshing to note that many of the latter-day trends in economic thought were first dimly envisaged by the German thinkers—Adam Muller, Von Thunen and Fredrech List.

The Evolution of Socialism is also systematically dealt with and the teachings of Marx are evaluated on an intelligent basis. As the author rightly says, "every one of his theories is faulty and full of numerous contradictions" but the effective importance of his writings grew out of his trenchant and destructive criticism of the existing order of things. His defiant personality enabled him to cut a bold figure in the field of social science as Darwin could in the field of biology.

The chief tenets of the older and younger historical school are also carefully dealt with. The main tenets of the mathematical and the Realist descriptive school are briefly referred to. Of the modern writers the author mentions his own contributions (pp. 279-282). The recent contributions to the doctrine of money, the exchange rates and crises are referred to.

So far as the thought-trends go, a brilliant exposition of the historical and realist schools is not to be met with. The contributions of the English and the American Economists have been grossly under-rated and some of them have not been mentioned by the author. We cannot recommend this book seriously as a comprehensive general exposition of the doctrines of economic theory but certain of them receive adequate attention from the author. As a universalist he devotes sufficient time to criticise effectively the teachings of the individualist school and ends his treatise with the somewhat significant statement "to us universalists it seems unquestionable after our critical survey of the whole field that truth lies on the side of universalism and that the universalist will ultimately prevail."

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Economic Development of India—By Vera Austey—Longmans Green & Co., 1929. Pp. 579.

As one of the outstanding publications in the field of Indian Economics the book has already earned a reputation and has been included as a text-book on Indian Economic History in several of the Indian Universities.

It traces in detail with abundant documentation the economic development of the Indian nation. Though no new material has been gathered the development of the economic organisation of the country and ideas up to the time of the present-day transition and semi-westernisation forms the main theme of the book.

Throughout the seventeen different chapters of the book the main strand of thought runs as follows. Present-day India has still upheld rightly or wrongly a mediaeval outlook in her everyday life, religious habits, social customs, industrial outfit, agricultural methods, and commercial organisation. Though here and there, like an oasis in the desert there have been certain improvements, neither the present nor the future economic problems of the country can be solved without that intense whole-hearted co-operation between the governed and the governing class which has not arisen as yet as a result of mutual misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Aiming at the presentation of an impartial and faithful account of the recent economic changes in India she has succeeded admirably in placing before the reader a concise view of the recent development, present position and the main problems of Indian economic life.

Perhaps the best portion of this valuable work is the description of the industrial organisation of the country which is confined to pages 207 to 328. Besides being a brief and exhaustive statement of the past, the present and the future industrial potentialities of the countries she is neither overoptimistic nor overpessimistic as regards India's industrial future. After outlining the past attitude of the Government towards industries she recounts all that the provincial departments of industries have done in the way of industrial stimulation. Possessing all in prerequisites of industrialisation, *viz.*, men, money, materials, markets, and motive power an intense drive is needed to realise the industrial greatness by a policy of co-ordinated control, decentralised administration and increased expenditure on industrial stimulation. The ameliorative measures for the improvement of the Indian labour situation are carefully outlined in the pages 314-328.

The main agricultural problem is tackled in chapter VI. The excessive population depending on the soil has led to uneconomic subdivision of

holdings, growing indebtedness, old systems of land tenure, and chronic under-employment. These economic issues have become complicated by the type of social organisation of the agriculturists. Bedridden by caste the joint-Hindu Family system, and the Purdah system the full play of the economic motive has been hindered. To make the position worse confounded technical problems cloud the main issue. If the benevolent activity of the Government is displayed to any advantage it is only in the field of agricultural improvement. The promotion of irrigation, scientific agriculture, agricultural co-operation, forest development, the intelligent exploitation of the fisheries are all due to the constructive initiative of the Government. Apart from imparting the right type of education, the encouraging of the suitable by-industries, the paying of propose emphasis to the agriculturists' interests when the tariff wall is generally raised and the carrying out of the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission the main endeavour ought to be in the direction of making country life healthy and wealthy at the same time. She rightly recommends the "Gurgaon" scheme which aims at "jerking the villager out of his old groove." Nothing is more important than changing the social organisation and the inculcating of the materialistic outlook on the part of the simple village folk. An army of sympathetic leaders and a mint of money would be needed before this work can be said to have been tackled in right earnest.

Chapter XIII confines itself to the foreign trade situation and the commercial policy of the Government. The qualitative as well as quantitative improvement in the matter of our exports and imports is commented on. After a somewhat brief allusion to the economics of the foreign trade attention has been drawn to the commercial and tariff policy of the country. She states the main issue on the much debated Imperial Preference proposal somewhat impartially in the following lines:— "On the whole India has little to offer and less to gain from Imperial Preference but much to lose on risk."

Apart from the better marketing of Indian produce attention must be paid to the quality of the export produce itself. But without any clearly laid down principles as regards commercial policy nothing solid can be achieved in the direction of stimulating trade and promoting industries. True fiscal autonomy ought not to be abused and nothing is more essential than to realise that it is not the tariff alone which creates industries but industrialisation is primarily the result of scientific research, industrial and technical training, collection and distribution of information, the promotion of improved methods of marketing, improvement of transport and communications.

Chapters XIV and XV deal with the financial and the banking and currency systems. A faithful portraiture of the existing machinery is given and the author's suggestions for improvement are neither very radical in nature nor brilliantly original in character. With an inelastic financial machinery and an ill-developed banking system the financing and the carrying out of any useful reforms in any field of economic life would be an impossible thing. Like the preliminary chapters which describe accurately the economic environment, the economic outfit and organisation of the people the 14th and 15th chapters are concisely written and a wealth of information is easily placed before the reader.

Chapter XVII is easily the most valuable portion of the book as the author outlines constructive suggestions for the securing of the economic progress of this country. Secs. 1 and 2 of this chapter assert that India's economic development has been hindered by meaningless social customs, habits and outlook and that these are the signs of transition from the mediæval to the modern type of economy. An improved transport system, changing industrial system, an expanding foreign trade, a slowly altering agricultural organisation and a stabilised currency system usher in the new era of economic progress in this country since 1900.

Endowed with almost all the necessary material for rapid economic advance India has been unable to register any solid improvement due to three obstacles as a whole. The population use of increased income is the bane of Indian Society. An Indian Malthus alone can inveigh against it. The uneconomic outlook of the generality of the people is the second main obstacle. Finally there is a world of misunderstanding between the government and the governed which precludes any real and effective co-operation between the two for the lasting good of the country. In Sec. 3 she outlines as it were what ought to be the main national economic policy of the country. National self-sufficiency means a proper balance between agricultural and industrial development. Undoubtedly this is to be India's economic goal. More science, more revenue, more technical education, and better distribution which increases the primary share of the labourer are the cardinal necessities. A big forward economic movement would be impossible without these. A harmonious blend of the genius of the East and West is the crying need of the hour. Mr. Brayne's work is a typical example of such wise co-ordination and Dr. Austey yearns for a five years' intensive campaign on the model of the "Gurgaon Scheme." An Indian Malthus, an Indian Carnegie, an Indian Florence Nightingale and an Indian General Booth are needed to place "the new angle of vision" and seek to

unify the vast Indian Continent into one single economic unit. The Native States have to be fused into an organic economic relationship with the British Indian territory.

It is gratifying to the reviewer to find almost all his views originally published in the Calcutta Review in some articles entitled "The Meaning of Economic Progress," "Population and Economic Progress" and "Urban Life and Economic Progress," accepted and re-echoed in the last chapter of this book. Another consolation for the reviewer is that his writings on banking have been quoted with approval in the section on banking.

Slight inaccuracies appear in certain chapters. For instance there is no mention of the "purchase of sterling" by the Government of India (p. 117). The old mechanism of the Council bills is emphasised. The State aid to Industries Act has not been passed as yet in Bengal (p. 222).

The statistical tables and appendices provide useful information.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

Kamala Lecturer for 1929.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1929, on the usual terms and conditions, the subject of his lectures being "The Evolution of Moral Ideals in India."

* * *

Law Examination Dates.

The dates for the next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law have been fixed as follows :—

Preliminary Examination in Law	...	6th July, 1931
Intermediate Examination in Law	...	13th July, 1931
Final Examination in Law	...	20th July, 1931

* * *

I.E. and B.E. Examinations Dates.

The next I.E. and B.E. Examinations will be held on the 13th July, 1931 and following days.

* * *

M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations Dates.

The 22nd of September, 1931, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations, 1931.

* * *

Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, February, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 642, of whom 348 passed, 167 failed, 4 expelled and 123 were absent. Of the successful candidates 21 were placed in class I and 327 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 67·05.

* * *

Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law, February, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 439, of whom 266 passed, 92 failed, none expelled and 81 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 12 were placed in class I and 254 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 74·30.

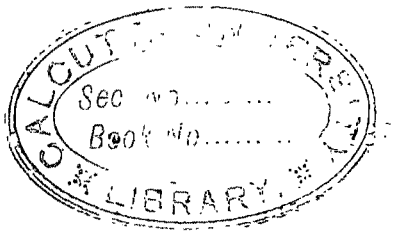
* * *

Result of the Final Examination in Law, February, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 491, of whom 216 passed, 109 failed, none expelled and 166 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 16 were placed in class I and 200 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 66·46.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1931

CONVOCATION ADDRESS [1]

YOUR EXCELLENCY, FELLOW-GRADUATES, HON'BLE LADY JACKSON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my pleasant duty to-day to address the Fellows and Graduates of the University and I am deeply sensible of this honour and privilege handed down to me by my distinguished predecessors. At one time the University of Calcutta, the first to function in India and now the mother of so many Universities in this great sub-continent, embraced within its territorial jurisdiction colleges in cities as widely apart as Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Nagpur, Dacca, Patna, Colombo and Rangoon,—cities each of which now claims a University of its own. But though the creation of new Universities has diminished the extent of our territorial jurisdiction, the intensity and complexity of the educational problems confronting the University of Calcutta have increased with the march of time. Even to-day we have 54 affiliated colleges under its jurisdiction in different parts of the provinces of Bengal and Assam with a total student population of about 25,000. On the rolls of the University itself, in its Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science and in the Department of Law, we have more than 3,000 and in Calcutta alone there are more than 15,000 students in our affiliated colleges.

[1] *Delivered by the Vice-chancellor at the Senate House, February 28, 1931.*

I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities to which I have been summoned by Your Excellency and fully realise that it is not a light task to maintain the high traditions of the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the greatest centre of learning in the East—an office which had taxed to the utmost the energies and resourcefulness of intellectual giants like Sir Gooroodas Banerjee and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

آسمـــان بار امانت نتوانست کشیـد
قرعهٔ فال به نام من دیـــوانه ز دند

"Heavens could not bear the burden of the great trust imposed upon them.
The die of destiny was cast in the name of me..."

Following the practice of my predecessors I shall briefly review the activities of the University during the past twelve months. Before I dwell on the progress of the academic work of our University, it is my duty to recall to memory the members of the Senate who have departed from our midst since we last met in Convocation.

Obituary

John Langford James was one of our distinguished Fellows and an active member of the Faculty of Law and of the Governing Body of the Law College. He was a fearless critic, a brilliant advocate and a fine gentleman, and his death in harness while actually engaged in a very complicated case came with tragic suddenness.

By the death of Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Oriental Scholarship has sustained an irreparable loss. Dr. Phillott was appointed a Fellow in 1907 and he served this University as President of the Board of Studies in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, as a member of the Syndicate and in various other capacities. In 1912 the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by reason of his eminent position and attainments. His

services to the cause of education in this country and particularly to Islamic Culture will always be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Bengal.

Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., was a Fellow of this University of more than 30 years' standing and a man of varied interests in life. He was for a long time a prominent member of the teaching staff of the Medical College of Bengal and after retirement from Government service filled the office of Sheriff of Calcutta with distinction and devoted his leisure and resources to the advancement of education in general.

Dr. M. N. Banerjee, C.I E., distinguished physician of this city and one of the founders of the Carmichael Medical College—the first non-official Medical College in India—was its first Principal. As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, as a Fellow and Syndic of this University and in many other ways he made his influence felt in directing medical education in Bengal.

Mr. Matloob Ahmad Khan Chowdhury was an educationist of ability and experience and rendered useful service as an Inspector of Schools and as a Fellow of the University.

Lastly, we have to mourn the death of Mr. Srishchandra Chaudhuri, one of our oldest Honorary Fellows, who was for many years actively associated with the work of the University as a member of the Senate and as a member of the Faculty of Law and of the Faculty of Arts.

Honorary Degrees

Turning now to the academic activities of the University, I rejoice to think that at the commencement of my term of office I have been able to arrange for the conferment of Honorary Degrees on three distinguished members of the Senate each pre-eminent in his respective sphere of activities.

Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., occupies a unique and unrivalled position in the world of commerce and

industries. He is a man of great courage, integrity and character, and his many-sided activities are too well-known to require a repetition. Inspite of the heavy demand on his time and energy he has always cheerfully served the cause of education. He has been President of the Indian Science Congress, President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering.

It is only in the fitness of things that on this outstanding son of Bengal the University should confer *Causa Honoris*, the degree of the D.Sc. in Engineering.

We have conferred the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Principal Herambachandra Maitra, who has been closely associated with this University for many years and has during the last half a century endeared his name to generations of students. He has inspired them by his lofty ideals and profound learning which have found response and appreciation in academic circles in Europe and America. He has helped in the establishment and administration of one of the biggest and best colleges in Bengal.

Dr. Charles Albert Bentley, C.I.E., has been for fifteen years the head of the department of Public Health in this province. He has been a wise, capable and a courageous administrator. His researches on Hook-worm disease, Kala-azar, Black-water fever and Malaria have won for him a well-deserved recognition in the scientific world, and by his wide sympathies for the aspirations of the children of the soil, he has carved out an affectionate corner for himself in the hearts of my countrymen. I regret very much that he had to leave India last week to take up his duties as Professor of Hygiene in the University of Cairo and the degree of M.D. could not therefore be personally conferred on him to-day.

I cannot pass without mentioning with pleasure that in July last the University conferred on my distinguished predecessor, Rev. Dr. Urquhart, the honorary degree of Doctor of Law in appreciation of his services as Vice-Chancellor and as a veteran

educationist. To-day in this Convocation I offer him my sincere felicitations and the wish that he will continue his activities in the sphere of education in Bengal for many a long year to come.

Our Teachers

It is a source of great gratification to me that during the year under review and during my term of office some of the members of the University have won striking distinctions in the intellectual world.

On Sir C. V. Raman, our Palit Professor of Physics, has been conferred the Honorary Degree of LL.D. by the University of Glasgow. Your Excellency has just now performed the pleasant function of presenting the Hughes Medal, the award of the Royal Society to him. He stands to-day as one of the most brilliant Scientists of the world and he has added his name to the vocabulary of Science. I rejoice to think that the most notable of the honours, the Nobel Prize, has also been won by Sir Venkata Raman and that our University Professor is the first recipient in Science of the Nobel Prize in Asia.

Another noteworthy event is the selection of the King George V Professor of Philosophy of our University—Dr. Radhakrishnan—by the Oxford University to deliver the Hibbert Lectures and also as a representative of India on the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

To name only a few amongst the earnest workers of the University who, I feel, are destined to achieve great recognition and distinction at no distant to date, may be mentioned Prof. Debendramohan Bose, Ghose Professor of Physics, Prof. Phanindranath Ghose, Professor of Applied Physics, Professor Prophulla Chandra Mitter, Ghose Professor of Chemistry, Prof. Jnanendranath Mukherjee, Guruprasad Singh Professor of Chemistry, Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, Guruprasad Singh Professor of Physics.

I feel the School of Mathematics under the able guidance of our Hardinge Professor, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, and the splendid work done by the Calcutta Mathematical Society will influence the future educational progress of the whole of India.

Our Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, has built up a reputation and influence known far beyond Bengal and I look forward to the day when under his able leadership our school of Economics will become a Cambridge under Marshall.

Dr. Basantakumar Das, our University Professor of Zoology, has been awarded by the Imperial College of Science the Huxley Gold Medal and the Huxley Memorial Prize in books and a valuable research microscope.

The year under review has been replete with original works done by our Professors and Lecturers in different departments of this University and for lack of time and space I have been obliged to relegate the statement of their very important contributions to the domain of scholarship and learning to an Appendix.

These builders of scientific thoughts and leaders of enthusiastic bands of workers deserve our sincere thanks.

Distinguished Visitors.

During the period of my incumbency it has also been my privilege to welcome visitors of international reputation in this University. Sir Arthur Salter delivered a lecture on India and the League of Nations, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, gave a course of lectures on the History of Socrates and Plato's Idea of God. Dr. J. C. Webb, Professors of Philosophy of the Christian Religion in the University of Oxford, as our Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer, enlightened us with a course of lectures on Contribution of Christianity to Ethics, Dr. P. H. Winfield, University Professor of Law in Cambridge, delivered a valuable series of Tagore Law Lectures on the Province of the Law of Torts.

I take this opportunity to recognise with gratitude the public spirit of those of our countrymen who have made endowments to the University during the last year, amongst whom is an anonymous donor who made over to us Rs. 10,000 to promote Primary Education in villages in Bengal.

This hardly forms part of University education as hitherto understood but a committee has indicated how the gift may be accepted and profitably used.

University Reorganisation.

The outstanding event of the year has been the completion of the labours of the University Organisation Committee.

The Committee held as many as 77 sittings and their Report was discussed by the Senate for 11 days and was ultimately adopted with some modifications. The Report of the Committee, as it has finally emerged from the Senate, is the result of long and anxious thought and it is to be hoped that this might help to place the post-graduate activities of the University on a sure and solid foundation. The success of the scheme outlined in the Report depends no doubt largely upon the amount of the subventions we are able to obtain from Government, and I earnestly appeal to Government to assist the University in every way. We recognise the difficulties of Government in these days of financial stringency but we claim that having regard to our commitments and to the magnitude and importance of the task to which we have set our hands, we have made out an unanswerable case for State support.

By years of patient effort we have succeeded in building up a Post-Graduate Department both in Arts and Science of which we may be legitimately proud. We recognise there are many defects and shortcomings. We recognise also that there is much ground still left which we have not been able to cover mainly from want of funds. We have endeavoured from our point of view to put forward our suggestions and recommendations

as to the lines on which the University may be re-organised. What we ask for and, I feel sure, shall not be denied, is active and friendly sympathy on the part of Government.

Our Financial Position

The quinquennial financial settlement of the University with the Government of Bengal came to an end on the 31st May, 1930. During the past quinquennium the Government of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of 2 lacs 43 thousand rupees and accepted a contingent liability of 57,000 rupees. In sanctioning the grant Government promised to consider the matter further at the end of that period and it anticipated that "with the experience of five years it should be possible to arrive at a more accurate and definite figure of the recurring grant." I need hardly add that this grant was sanctioned only for the Post-Graduate Department and was in addition to the grant of Rs. 1,28,000 which the University has been receiving from Government for many years past. On the 21st of July, 1930, this University made an application to the Government of Bengal on the basis of recommendations of the Committee as adopted by the Senate. The Senate therein asked for an annual recurring grant of 6 lacs 66 thousand rupees for the different departments of the University including the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science. The University also asked for non-recurring grants to meet various liabilities, one of the most important of them being the payment of compensation to those teachers whose services the University will not be in a position to continue as a result of retrenchment proposed in the scheme of re-organisation. The matter is under consideration of the Government of Bengal, and we trust that with the powerful assistance of Your Excellency as the Chancellor of this University, we shall be able to persuade you as the Governor of the Province and also the Hon'ble Minister for Education, to stabilise the finances of this University. The main income of

the University is derived from the receipt of tuition and examination fees from students which must necessarily be of an uncertain and fluctuating character specially in an abnormal year like this. The consequences of the present uncertain financial position of the University on the teaching staff of the Post-Graduate Departments can be better imagined than described. Men who have rendered loyal and devoted service to the University for years past are being tossed up on the wave of uncertainty pending a final financial adjustment between the University and Government. Last year the Senate was obliged to renew the appointments of the vast majority of the members of our teaching staff for five months only, *i.e.*, up to the 31st May, 1931. Three months only are left of this period and one can easily appreciate and sympathise with the dread of uncertainty of the future of our teachers. I once again express the hope that a satisfactory financial arrangement will be arrived at between the University and Government without delay, on which alone depends the very continued existence of the teaching departments of the University. I further express the hope that the grant sanctioned by Government will be secured by a statutory enactment as has been done in the case of the Dacca University and the matter set at rest for ever.

I feel I must also refer to the financial difficulties of the private colleges in Bengal affiliated to this University. The usual annual reeurring grant of Rs. 1,29,000 made by the Government of India and assigned to the Government of Bengal has heen suspended this year. A representation has been made to Government by the Senate on behalf of the Colleges and we trust that the matter will be sympathetically considered by Your Excellency's Government.

While making our insistant demand on the Exchequer of the Province I desire to assure Government and the public of Bengal, that University has had full appreciation of the abnormal circumstances through which the country has been passing and

we have restrained our expenditure even on such important items as Library, the research equipment and working expenses of the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science, Buildings, and the University Press, as also in connection with the general administration of the University.

During the year under review academic atmosphere has been unfortunately ruffled on many an occasion by political breezes, and the unhappy incidents of the 9th September, 1930, for a time threatened to rouse angry passions and bitter feelings, but thanks to His Excellency the Chancellor for whose kind intervention and influential support, the happy termination of what looked to be a very serious trouble materialised and a way of friendly co-operation between the Police and the University chalked out for the future.

Some Urgent Problems

I shall now turn to some of the urgent problems which ought to engage the most anxious consideration of all persons interested in the welfare of this University.

As a medical man I must first refer to the question of *health and welfare of our students.*

Our Students' Welfare Committee have up to date examined roughly about 20,000 students in different Colleges in Calcutta, and I notice with considerable concern that 40 per cent. of the College students suffer from malnutrition. I find to my great sorrow that Muslim students stand first in the list, and our Bengali students, Hindus and Muslims alike, have inferior ponderal indices not only to the European boys but also to the Asiatics such as Chinese, Japanese and the Anamese students. The Committee have also found that out of every 10 students examined only three are perfectly fit and healthy for their age ; 6 are on a definitely infirm plane of health and strength either

from some disability or some failure of development, and the remaining one is quite incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion. Causes of this deplorable state of affairs have been set forth as negligence and ignorance of elementary laws of health, unbalanced diet and want of systematic physical training. No University can flourish if the bulk of students is in such a bad state of health. The activities of our Students' Welfare Committee have been confined only to the limits of Calcutta and we have thus only been able to touch the bare fringe of the problem. We have not been able to examine the students in our affiliated Colleges outside Calcutta, nor the boys and girls in over 1,100 schools within our jurisdiction although the most important work of prevention and cure should be undertaken during the school-going age of our students. In 1921 I brought prominently to the notice of the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea the urgent necessity of the active co-operation of the Departments of Public Health and Education in the solution of this important problem. Financial stringency stood in the way. I feel if these departments are to function as nation-building departments, everything else must give way to the over-riding demands of such an important national problem.

Another important health and welfare problem for the University *students* is the question of their *residence*. Most of our students come from the rural areas where they at any rate get sufficient amount of fresh air, fresh vegetables, milk and fish. In the metropolis living is very dear and they can barely manage to just subsist on the money that they get from their parents or guardians. The places of residence of students, even those that are known as attached lodgings and messes, are appallingly bad, unhealthy, congested and over-crowded. Hard work and poor food and unhealthy environments soon make a heavy incursion into their slender reserves with disastrous results. I appeal to the representatives of the people on our Legislative Council and other public bodies to obtain

large sums of money for the establishment of welfare work for our students and for providing sufficient hostel accommodation for those especially living in Calcutta.

New Graduates

Fellow-graduates, it gives me very great pleasure to offer my congratulations and felicitations to you. Some of you have to-day marked the last milestone in your academic life. Your countrymen and country-women do look forward to you to build up a solid economic structure for them, and you will have to educate them and to uplift them from poverty to competence. You will have to organise society and eradicate social evils. On you will devolve the duty and responsibility of maintaining discipline in life, and your *alma mater*, who has given you her best and choicest gifts, will demand of you filial piety, devotion to duty and love of country.

The Problem of Unemployment

I must, however, admit that these high ideals cannot be attained without peace of mind and contentment which you can in most cases attain only if you have a fairly remunerative vocation to pursue. The discontent and trouble of which you hear so much is largely due to unemployment of the educated classes. The pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, is the luxury of the well-to-do classes and the rich. Over 90 per cent. of our graduates take degrees and diplomas for the sake of their wage-earning value. I can well understand the disappointment of many of our young men when after 14 years or more of arduous work they find that the slender resources of their parents and guardians have been spent on them, without a certainty of even a small return. The man who looks after the electric lights and fans, the motor-mechanic and the man who drives the car are earning more than the average graduate.

To solve the problem of unemployment we have on the one hand to educate public opinion on the dignity of labour and of mechanical vocations of life as against the pursuit of what is called the learned professions and on the other to provide facilities for vocational education for our young men so that after receiving the necessary training they may be able to earn at least a living wage. Here again vocational education alone will not solve the problem of unemployment, because persons equipped with vocational knowledge ought also to get employment in sufficient numbers in industrial concerns and undertakings, not only run by Government, but also by private enterprise. Over-production of diploma-holders in vocational education will very soon be as great a problem as over-production of graduates in what is called cultural education has become for some time past.

The agricultural and mining resources of India offer a field for development which will find sufficient work and bring prosperity and contentment in its wake. To have a prosperous industrial concern, whether in the mechanical, engineering, business or commerce or other branches of work or for the development of the mining and agricultural resources of our country, peace is essential. No country has progressed until there has been peace. Peace must be secured by our men in public life, and our educationists on their part should change the system of education which has resulted in these acute questions of unemployment which is causing so much misery and unrest.

The policy in the past has resulted in producing an overpopulation of intelligentsia without providing for employment for the active minds of our population.

Vocational Guidance

The Indian child's mind has been left unexplored. The problem which deserves our immediate attention is the practical, sympathetic and purposeful guidance of our youth. We have never thought of giving vocational guidance to our young people.

We know that the average Indian child is brought up without a definite plan or purpose. We have human traits, human intelligence, human aptitudes, abilities and peculiarities, and according to the natural, intellectual, moral and physical endowment of each person a vast reduction of vocational misfits will be possible. Organised vocational guidance in India will do a lot to guide the genius and energy of the youth.

A large percentage of persons who are mentally and constitutionally unsuited for higher education will do well to be diverted to industrial and commercial channels by starting upon a useful career while they are young enough to learn. Psycho-analysis and Experimental Psychology is a most useful modern science and by its judicious and proper application we may be able to direct the energies of our young men in the right path and thereby save them from miseries and pitfalls in their after-life.

I am convinced it will pay Government to start in the University a department for vocational guidance and an employment bureau.

Students and Politics

Fellow-graduates, there can be no doubt that we are passing through anxious times. A heavy responsibility rests alike with the teachers and the students. It is not for me to suggest that students should keep their ears shut and eyes closed to what is going on around them. What I do maintain is that it should be the duty of all who are interested in the true welfare of students to see that their academic pursuits are not interfered with and they are not thrown off their mental equilibrium.

I do not for a moment discourage the study and discussion of principles of politics within the University, in University Unions and Students' Parliaments. I do, however, advise them not to be swept off their feet and to prematurely follow the alluring path of active politics.

It is a truism that the students of to-day will be the citizens of to-morrow. Let the foundation of true citizenship be

therefore well and truly laid under the auspices of this University by efforts of well-regulated and disciplined academic life and, in my conviction, I feel I had the support of the weighty authority of no less a patriot and educationist than the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Standing in this very hall in the midst of circumstances and conditions similar to those prevailing to-day, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee exhorted the young graduates assembled in a Convocation in words of wisdom which are as true to-day as when they were uttered :

" Students of this University, allow not the pursuit of your studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements. Forget not that the normal task of the student, so long as he is a student, is not to make politics, nor to be conspicuous in political life. Take it as my deepest conviction, that practical politics is the business of men, not of boys. You have not that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs, which is essential in politics and will be attained by you only in the battle of life in the professions and in responsible positions. Train yourselves, if you please, in Political Economy, Political Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Law ; acquire an intelligent comprehension of the great lessons of History ; but delude not yourselves in your youthful enthusiasm that the complex machinery by which a state is governed may be usefully criticised and discussed without adequate training and laborious preparation. Remember further that if you affiliate yourselves with a party, you deprive yourselves of that academic freedom which is a prerequisite to self-education and culture. Submit not, I implore you, to intellectual slavery, and abandon not your most priceless possession, to test, to doubt, to see everything with your own eyes. Take this as a solemn warning that you cannot with impunity and without serious risk to your mental health, allow your academic pursuits to be rudely disturbed by the shocks of political life. Devote yourselves, therefore, to the quiet and steady acquisition of physical, intellectual and moral habits and take to your hearts the motto—

'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.'

Follow the path of virtue, which knows no distinction of country or colour; be remarkable for your integrity as for your learning, and let the world see that there are amongst you—

'Souls tempered with fire,
Fervent, heroic and good,
Helpers and Friends of mankind.' "

The inspiring words of the great Vice-Chancellor leave no doubt that the acquisition of knowledge is the primary concern and the first and foremost duty of a student, and I feel that the student who by self-devotion to the cause of learning captures the citadel of knowledge and conquers the realms of Arts and Science, brings his motherland nearer the goal of Swaraj than he who deserts the temple Saraswati and wanders into the quagmire of ignorance and follows the mirage of vain pursuits.

Muslim Education

As an Indian, I should realise that the salvation of India cannot be achieved without the dissemination of knowledge and the spread of the light of learning amongst its countless millions. Therefore, the education of the Muslim population in Bengal is a matter of deep concern and a national problem of first importance. Amongst the 54 affiliated Colleges under the University of Calcutta there are only 13·6 per cent. of Muslim students and according to the Census calculation of 1921 the percentage of literacy amongst Muslims is 5·9. Therefore it is an incontrovertible fact that if the majority of the population of Bengal is in the darkness of ignorance, it constitutes a severe handicap on the progress of intellectual and political advancement of the country.

As the first Muslim Vice-Chancellor of the University, it is my bounden duty to advance in all legitimate means the just

claims of the community to which I have the honour to belong. We, Muslims of Bengal, are lagging far behind the other communities in matter of University education. I find that out of 10,304 successful candidates at the last Matriculation Examination the number of Muslim candidates who passed was 1,015. Again out of 3,396 candidates who passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts and Science the number of successful Muslim candidates was 339. Out of 1,984 candidates who passed the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations last year only 240 were Muslims. 267 graduates took their M.A. degrees in 1930; of these 15 only were Muslims. There were 56 Muslim graduates in Law out of a total of 509. The number of Muslims who passed the B.T. and M.B. Examinations was 14 and 10 out of the total of 77 and 156 respectively. Only one Muslim passed the examination of Bachelor of Engineering while there was not a single Muslim in the list of successful candidates at the B.Com. and the M.Sc. Examinations.

It is clear the Muslims of Bengal have not availed themselves as yet of the increased educational facilities offered to them. We must therefore make greater efforts for the spread of education in our community.

I feel strongly that the University should do much more than what it has hitherto done in furthering Islamic studies. The department needs re-adjustment and re-organisation in order to adequately satisfy the claims of this far-famed learning.

It is also essential that the Muslim community should cheerfully come forward with donations to extend the bounds of knowledge and specially for founding scholarships and stipends for poor and deserving Muslim students.

Already I see signs of a new awakening among the young Muslims of Bengal and I call upon them to remember that Education—more education and better education—education of the most liberal character—will alone weld the two great communities in India, great in their traditions, great in their culture, firm in their determination to build up a nation.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY: THE HINDU PERIOD.

The Antiquity of the Indian Currency.

It may be regarded as an established fact that gold, silver and copper were coined in an extensive scale in India long before the birth of Christ. Of course the sovereigns of the country cherished the prerogative of coining money, from very early times, with as much exclusiveness as the various governments of the modern age do throughout the world.

Kautilya's Arthashastra mentions "Lakshanadaksha" or the superintendent of the royal mint, whose duty was to carry on the manufacture of coins, and "Rupadarshaka" or the examiner of coins whose duty was to regulate the currency both as medium of exchange and legal tender money. By Kautilya's time the system of currency in India seems to have been well-developed. Along with "Kosa-pravesya" or standard money there were "Vyava-harika," or token coins, one variety of which was the subsidiary "Tamra-rupa" or copper coins.[1]

Rupa-sutra, as mentioned by Bhandarkar contains elaborate regulations about mint and money of the Hindus. The book "deals with metals and substances of which coins were made; there shape and technique; devices on them; the running of the mint; officers connected with manufacture and regulation; methods of differentiating genuine from counterfeit coins, and modes of multiplying currency." [2]

But long before the age of the famous Arthashastra or that of the less widely known Rupa-sutra the system of coined money had been in vogue in India. In fact instances of coined money

[1] Arthashastra, Shama Shastri, p. 98; Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures), IV. 165.
[2] Bhandarkar.

can be gathered from the Vedas; and the invaluable researches of the European savants have given us a sort of connected history of the Hindu system of currency.

In Marsden's writings is found that various kinds of metallic money were current in India during the Vedic period which in all probability ran from 2500 to 800 B.C.

Professor Wilson refers to coined money in the Vedas. Prof. Wilson has collected instances of money-weights, like gold and silver satamanas in the later Vedic period. [1]

The Indian pundits also are strong in their opinion that the Vedas contain numerous allusions to money :

" Got 10 pieces of gold from Divadas.'—Rig-veda, 6. 47. 23. [2]

With regard to nishka, a kind of money mentioned in the Vedas, there is a long controversy—whether it was a coin or a necklace of gold. The editor of the Numismata Orientalia is of opinion that the nishka of the Vedas did attain the status of a coin. [3]

Prof. Bhandarkar also thinks that the nishka in the Rig-veda means coined money, and reconciles this view with the accepted different meaning of the term—a golden necklace—by concluding that the nishka was not only a coin but a string or garland of coins so habitual with the Indians of the present age. [4]

Manu gives definite information *re* the nishka—4 suvarnas are equal to a nishka. [5]

The commentator of the Ramanuj-Ramayan in explaining 2.23.10 sloka says : " Nishka here signifies nishka withinscriptions on it." [6]

[1] Numismalica Orientalia, pp. 33-35.
[2] Commerce in ancient India—Tarini Vidyanidhi.
[3] N. Orientalia, p. 35.
[4] Bhandarkar, p. 64.
[5] Manu, VIII, 137.
[6] T. Vidyanidhi, p. 81.

The Mahabharata [1] mentions coined money in several places. The epic also mentions "bags of gold dust." These might be the historic bags of gold in which revenue to the Persian Darius was paid by his Hindu subjects and which was so much commented on by the Greek writers.

"The suvarna was also a simple bag of gold dust, such as is still current in Kumaun, of the value of 8 rupees." [2]

The Ramayana also enumerates gold and silver money as "10 crores of gold and 40 crores of silver." [3]

Mention of "pieces of money in complete form" is found in the sutras of Panini, who lived according to Prof. Goldstücker, before Buddha. Weber and some other authorities hold that the great grammarian lived after the establishment of Buddhism. [4]

Panini in his Ashta-dhayi speaks of karshapanas, nishkas, satamanas and other coins.

"That Panini knew coined money is plainly borne out by his sutra 5.2.1119 'rupad-ahata' where the word rupya in the sense of struck (ahata) derived from 'rupa' form here means the form or shape of a man which was on it;" [5] "the Srauta-sutra of Katyayana...refers to satamana coins." [6]

But the most prolific source of information *re* coined money in India is the Buddhistic literature which flourished about 500 B.C.

"The allusions to money in the sacred literature of Sakya-muni are frequent...the Buddhist legends...abound in illustrations of every-day life...numerous passages mentioning suvarnas, puranas...karshapanas." [7]

"In the Vinaya-pitaka the term 'Rupiya' suggests the system of coinage of money. Some pundits hold that 'Rupiya'

1 Sabha-parva, 35-7; 61. 2. (Wheeler).
2 Cunningham.
3 Cants, 1, 15, 50.
4 Bhandarkar, p. 7.
5 N. Orientalia, p. 39; Bhandarkar, pp. 40, 41.
6 Bhandarkar.
7 N. Orientalia, p. 41

means ' rupankita ' or impressed with ' rupa ' or face of the king. [1]

In the Greek literature, contemporary to Alexander and subsequent, instances of the Indian money are not wanting ;

" Alexander...at Taxaila was presented... with 80 talents of coined silver." [2]

" Another gold coin mentioned Greek author...of the Periplus." [3]

" The Indian karshapana is mentioned by Hesychenes." [4]

Jajnavalkya mentions " nanaka " (a coin) in his books of law which prescribes penalty for " fabrications " of coins or for a " trier of coin " who pronounces false one to be genuine. [5]

With the nanaka coin of the Yuchi Kadphises, which contained the device of the god Siva and the bull Nandi (Sivanka tanka), we arrive at the first century A.D. of the Indian coinage.

It may be time now to discuss the divergent views about the antiquity of the Indian system, for fixing the earliest possible date.

Prof. Bhandarkar wants to carry the antiquity of the Hindu coinage as far back as " the middle of the third century millennium before Christ; " and opines that the European scholars are generally unwilling to assign to the Indian coinage an earlier date than 600 to 700 B.C.

" The earliest Indian coin...may well go back to 500 to 600 B.C." [6]

" The silver puranas of India may be quite as old as any of the coinages of Greece or Asia Minor." [7]

[1] J. C. Ghose, Jataka, II.
[2] Cunningham, Preface; Brown, p. 16.
[3] Cunningham, p. 2.
[4] N. Orientalia, p. 7.
[5] Smriti, 240-41 ; N. Orientalia pp. 44-5.
[6] Cataloge of Coins, V. Smith.
[7] Cunningham, pp. 20-21.

"The earliest specimens...(dharana or purana) are probably at least as early as the beginning of the 4th century B.C." [1]

"In their earliest form the punch-marked coins may go back to the 6th century B.C." [2]

Mr. Bhandarkar accepts on the authority of Mr. Winternitz that "the Vedic period in all probability extends from 2500 to 800 B.C." But there is an extreme paucity of evidence *re* coined money in the earlier Vedic period. The hiranya-pinda or the suvarna originally might not have connoted coined money but merely gold bullion or "bags of gold dust." No doubt nishka and satamana are mentioned. But the nishka in its early significance, most probably, was not money but gold beads for ornamental purpose. The uniformity of its shape and possibly of weight, gradually made it acceptable as good payment for all valuable things, and in course of ages this acceptibility made it a good medium of exchange, and perhaps then only it came to be recognised by the state as money, and was accredited by the royal inscriptions as such. It might have taken a long time for the nishka to develop thus into the full-fledged money. This satamana or the hundred-measures also might originally have reference to mere weight and not to any monetary unit.

Thus it may be plausible to think that the dawn of the monetary system in India may not be rightly carried to the earliest Vedic period but the latest. In the west it is said money was coined in Lydia about 700 B.C.

"Herodotus attributes the first use of coined gold and silver by the Lydians, while in another passage he mentions that the first Greek coinage was at Aegina, by Pheidon of Argos." [3]

In India, it may be hazarded, that the coinage began about 1000 B.C., and the coins became fairly current by 800 B.C., which period may be regarded as the very infancy of the system.

[1] Rapson, p. 2.
[2] Brown, p. 7.
[3] Encyclopaedia Britannica.

" These punch-marked coins (karshapana)...were certainly current in the time of Buddha...they might mount as high as 1000 B.C." [1]

There is good evidence to conclude that before the time when Manu's institutes were completely compiled, the coinage had much developed and the coined money had become effective currency; and by the time of the advent of the Greeks the coinage had been much improved.

The controversy *re* the antiquity of the Hindu coinage perhaps has not been finally settled. But, it seems that the balance of evidence and argument as given above, is in favour of the conclusion that the Indian system had its beginning in the earlier years of the first millennium B.C , and so, prior to any other known system of currency in the world.

A. K. SARKAR

[1] Cunningham, p. 43.

GEORGE MEREDITH

An Unpublished Sonnet.

The publication of Meredith's Sonnet entitled *To P. A. Labouchere Esq.* in *The Nineteenth Century and After* in its January number, after nearly sixty-six years since it was first penned, lends fresh interest to the baffling question of Meredith's personality. The Sonnet was discovered in a collection of autographs which Pierre-Antoine Labouchere (1807-1873) bequeathed to the municipal library of his native town, Nantes. Nothing much is known about Meredith's literary relations with Labouchere, but the French painter was connected with the family of Meredith's second wife through the marriage of his two daughters, Emilie and Marie, with Edouard and Justin Vulliamy, both brothers-in-law of Meredith. It is also known that Meredith visited several times the Vulliamy home at Nonancourt in Normandy. It would be quite natural to presume that Meredith would not have dedicated a sonnet to the Frenchman, and through it, expressed his deep admiration of "that bright band," meaning the French "wits by whom huge Dulness has been slain," unless the English novelist's kinship with Labouchere were more than of a formal nature. Moreover, Pierre-Antoine Labouchere was fairly well-known in English social and literary circles. He was the first cousin of Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton, and his interest in English literature and history is abundantly proved by his various contributions to the famous English periodical, *Notes and Queries*. But Meredith, on account of an unexplainable strain in his nature, throughout his life, made a mystery of his personal life and literary friendships. This grew almost to be a second nature with him, the baneful effects of which are reflected in all his human dealings as well as his literary style. This habit was the cause of his deliberate tricks of writing allusive,

high-florid, and obscure verse and prose. What was more fatal was that he frequently had recourse to a highly euphuistic and artificial manner, especially when his imaginative power was failing. Almost every page of Meredith would exhibit to the careful reader lapses of sense and form ; extreme poverty of thought would be apparent from his seemingly bright and tinselled language.

Meredith's style makes him, of all writers, the most puzzling for a critic. Of course, Meredith was, and will never be, a popular writer. In 1859, when the English public was waxing hysterical over *Adam Bede, The Ordeal of Richard Feveral* published in the same year, was generally ignored or passed by with scant comment. Meredith had to labour for years in obscurity, and not until all his best works had been published, could he obtain any popularity worth mentioning. More than any of his contemporaries Meredith has been the victim of public prejudice. Great wrangling raged over him immediately after his death. At that time, it was impossible for any critic to approach Meredith with any detachment ; one had to be either a whole-hearted partisan or an opponent. The personal aspect of the author, although irresistible, was most contradictory ; his views and practices were found to be glaringly inconsistent. Almost all the facts of his life were known in detail from his cousin Mr. S. M. Ellis's *Biography*, published in 1919. The book disclosed a Meredith hitherto unknown to the public ; it exposed strains of obstinacy, commonness and even cruelty, and told a great deal about his unscrupulousness in private life. So, the discovery of hithero unsuspected weaknesses in an otherwise blameless life reduced the stature of the literary giant. Of course, for all this nobody but the giant himself was responsible ; his fantastic tricks of partial self-revelation in writing and conversation made confusion worse confounded. The strangest thing was that Meredith could write beautifully, and yet wrote atrociously at times. He mingled philosophical sincerity of thought with insufferable affectation of language.

One wonders if Meredith's style had any aesthetic basis at all. His love of rhetoric and ornament is apparent in the stilted flourish at the end of this Sonnet ; his eulogy of Montaigne and Molière is quite in accordance with his temperament.

Mr. J. B. Priestley in his *Life of George Meredith*, similarly shows the incongruous nature of Meredith's genius ; he demonstrates that all his life Meredith insisted on being different from the ordinary normal people, and yet in many respects, he himself was quite ordinary. He was thoroughly aware of his weaknesses, and was, therefore, all the more untiring in hiding his self-conscious reactions against them. It was absolutely impossible for him to avoid the epigrammatic. All his pretensions of the richness of metaphor and semblances of passion seem to-day as cold as ice. The effect of Meredith's prose or verse, albeit sparkling with spurious brilliancy, is short-lived. Almost as soon as the charm has begun to work, the bloom is gone. What had struck a reader as amazing in Meredith's style and expression ceases to surprise him only a few moments later, while the faults that underline the glitter become emphasised.

To P. A. Labouchere, Esq.

Oft have I looked on France with envy vain,
Not of her vines, nor of her sunny land,
Nor of her glory ; but of that bright band,
The Wits by whom huge Dulness has been slain :
Who seemed another Saturn in his reign,
And with its Titans dared a mortal hand
To find his headpiece vulner'bly plann'd :—
Transfix'd is he by arrows of the brain !
Of these keen archers, Molière and Montaigne
To me are dearest : for these two combine
Wisdom and laughter : these I am full fain
To call most precious countrymen of mine :
They bridge the Channel waters once again,
And add proof that Genius is divine.

The Old House,
Mickleham,
Friday 29th, 1865.

George Meredith
P. Guha-Thakurta

KINGSHIP IN BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

I

It is said with some degree of authority that there was democracy in India from the Vedic time. It is necessary to examine in a summary manner if that was so ; or if kingship was the rule.

In the Intorduction to Sháyana's commentary on Atharba Veda (in about 1375) it is stated that he wrote the commentary under orders of Harihar (Hindu king of Vijayanagar, a descendant of king Bukka). He stated that Rik, Jaju and Shám Vedas conferred peace in the next world, but Atharba Veda deals with results in this as well as in the next world (—Pandit Durgadas Lahiri's edition).

In Jayaswál's Hindu Polity at p. 25 it is stated that "the early Vedas know only monarchy ..... The Mahábhárata, similarly, * * * considers monarchy alone as the Vedic form of Government."

But much has been made of the words "Savá" and "Samiti." In the Sanskrit dictionaries both the words have got several and different meanings ; in one sense, namely, in the sense of association or collection of men they are synonymous. Judicial committees, like the Privy Council, are called Savá in the Sukraniti and the Arthasástra. These are developments to be found in the Smritis and the Játakas ; the earliest Savá was a religious gathering and not exactly of definite persons. For instance a Rishi would sing hymns to Surja or Indra or fire (all of which refer to The Almighty) jointly with his disciples. Rishis of various Ásrams would not come to join, though they would come to attend any ceremony on their King's solicitation. Such a ceremonious gathering would be part of the king's Savá.

The early Bauddhas would call a burial place Savá (Shová) *e. g.*, the Savá on the Khandagiri Hill near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, which is yet visible.

In the Vedas there is mention of Savá, Samiti and Gana. Importance has been attached to them to mean political associations ; and therefore it is necessary to examine in what sense they are used, at least generally.

Thus in the Rig-Veda :

(1) Sarbê nandanti jashaságatena savá-sáhena sakhya sakyáyah. 10. 71. 10 r
Savyáh—manushyáh
Sává-sáhen savám sorḍum shaknubata —Lahiri.

(This Sukta 71 refers to *mantras* in connection with Brahmajnan. It has nothing to do with Politics.)

(2) Savámeti kitabah prichhámno jeshyamiti ..... -10. 34. 6r.

(3) In gatherings, meetings of the folk (*i.e.*, Savá) we will speak glorious things of thee—Griffith, Principal, Beneras College, Atharba Veda—12. 1. 56m. (This Sukta refers to chess and to the chess-players, and not to any kind of political associations.)

(4) Bhadram griham krinutha bhadrabácho brihadbo baya uchyatê savásu.—R.V.-6. 28. 6.

Savásu-Jágparishatsu (members collected at a jajna) —Lahiri.

Your power is glorified in our assemblies.—Griffith. (It refers to cows and their power to do good to mankind.)

(5) Shvátra bhájá bayasá sachatê sadá chandro játi savámupa.—R.V. - 8. 4. 9r.

The moon being pleasing to all went to the savá or people.—Tr. of Lahiri's note.

(This Sukta No. 4 contains prayers to Indra and others.)

(6) Je grámá jadaranyam jáh savá adhi bhumyám.—A V. - 12. 1. 56. (Savá in this mantra means associations in general.)

(7) Jad rájáno bibhajantu isshtápurtasya sorhasham jamasyámi savásadah.—A. V. 3. 29. 1.

Savásada—sitting in the savá.—Lahiri

Savásáhah sakahá (R. V. 10. 31. 10,) esha boi bráhmaná-nám savásáha; sakhà yat somo rájá (R. V. (10. 1. 13.)—(Hansarája's Vedic Kosha). (It does not refer to Political associations of the people.)

The word *Samiti* is used in the Vedas generally in the sense of a collective body or an assembly of Gods, such as Maruts, Indra, and others, and on very few occassions in the sense of assembly of people, but never in the sense of a political body of the subjects assembled for political purposes. Thus :—

(1) sarbá dishah sammanasah sadhriti dhubáya tê samitih kalpatámihah.—A. V. - 4. 88. 3.

(Here samiti means assemblage, but not a political association.)

(2) Na barsham maitrábarunam
brahmajyamavi barshati ;
Násmai samitih kalpatê na mitram
nayatê basham.—A. V. - 5. 19. 15.

(Samiti refers to assemblage for religious purposes and not to political association.)

Then the word *Gana* is assumed to be a representative body of the people. In the Vedas this term is generally used in connection with Maruts, the guardian deity of the winds, as in the following places :—

(1) ..... Marutám ganam .....—R. V.—10. 137. 5.

(2) ..... Márutam ganam .....—R. V.—10. 36. 7.

(3) Sumárutam na Brahmánam arhasê ganam .....—R. V. 10. 77. 1.

(4) ..... Maruta Indra somê jê tvámabardhannababhan ganah tê. R. V. - 3. 35. 9.

(5) ..... Maruto ganah ..... R. V. 5. 61. 3.

(6) Adim hanso jathá ganam ..... R. V. - 9. 32. 3.

(7) ..... ganáya jo daibasya ..... R. V. - 7. 58. 1.
(8) ..... ganam Debánam ..... R. V. - 4. 35. 3.
(9) ..... ganáya jo daibyasya ..... R. V. - 7. 58. 1.
(10) ..... sátayê seesadho ganam.—R. V. - 6. 56. 5.

Gana is taken to mean in (1) Sangha—Lahiri.
in (2) Sangha— Do.
Band—Griffith.
in (3) Collection—Lahiri.
Band—Griffith.
in (4) Sahâyah—Lahiri.
Army—Griffith.
in (5) Collection—Griffith.
in (6) Class (of ducks)—Lahiri.
Company—Griffith.
in (7) (Marut) samuhâya (all)—Lahiri.
in (8) Sankhyá—Lahiri.
(God's) assembly—Griffith.
in (9) Samuha—Lahiri.
Troop—Griffith.
in (10) Sangha (of cattle)—Lahiri.
Company—Griffith.

It is also said that in Vedic time there was election of the king. I quote different translations and versions of Vedic passages, one version of which is also relied upon in some cases in support of that assertion :

(1) Unto thee hath come the kingdom ; with splendour rise forward ; (as) lord of the people (viças), sole king bear those rules (vi-raja) ; let all the directions (E. W. N. and S) call thee king ; become thou here one for waiting on, for homage—A. V.-3. 4. 1.—Weber.

(The same) To thee hath come the kingship with its splendour : Oh shine as lord, sole ruler of the people. Let all regions of the Heavens invite thee. Here let men wait on thee and bow before thee.—Griffith.

(The same) O king flourish with thy power. Protect thy subjects and being their king shine. Let all the deities of all the derections maintain thee. Let all your people bow down to thee.—Lahiri.

(2) Thee let the people (viças) choose unto kingship (rájya), thee, these 5 divine directions; rest (çri) at the summit of royalty, at the pinnacle (kakud); from thence, formidable, share out good things to us.—A. V. Ib.—2.—Weber.

(The same) The tribesmen shall elect thee for the kingship, these five celestial regions shall elect thee.—Griffith.

(The same) Let the subjects be fit for State business. The Debs and Debis bless thee. Be seated on the throne. Then drive away the enemies and bestow riches on us, thy attendants, on each as he deserves.—Lahiri.

(3) A tiger upon the tiger's (skin) do thou stride out into the great quarter; let all the people (Viçya) want thee, the waters of heaven, rich in milk—A.V.-4. 8. 4.

(The same) Let all the people long for thee.—Griffith.

(The same) All the people or subjects desire thee as their Lord. They are at thy commands.—Lahiri.

(4) Increase, O! Indra, this Kshattriya for me; make thou this man sole chief of the clans (viça); unman all his enemies; make them subject to him in the contest for pre-eminence.—A.V.-4. 22. 1.

(The same) Exalts and strengthen this my prince, O Indra, make him sole Lord and Leader of the people. Scatter his foes, deliver all his rivals into his hand in struggles for precedents. —Griffith.

(The same) O Indra, increase this our Kshatriya king with sons and grandsons, &c.—Lahiri.

(It is a distinct prayer to make the kingship hereditary. It is not a declaration of any power in the people to choose their king and elect him as king.)

The following are on Divine right to be king:

(1) I join to thee Indra.....who shall make thee sole

chief of people, also uppermost of kings descended from Manu. A.V.-4. 22. 5.—Weber.

(The same) He (Indra) shall make thee the folk's sole lord and leader ; shall make thee highest of all human rulers. —Griffith and Lahiri.

(2) Ashviná tvágre Mittrábaruńová Vishve Debá Marutastva hvayantu.—AV.-3. 4. 4.

The Deities named will make you enter the Kingdom. —Lahiri.

(3) Tathá Ayang Rájá Visháng prajáńáng svámi bhabatu. —A.V. 4. 22. 3.—Lahiri.

(Similarly may this king be the lord of his subjects.)

(4) Tathá Anyesháng kshattriyánám dehe prashaste sharirábayabe shirashi ayang abhishikto rájá bartamánostu. —A.V.-4. 22. 2.—Lahiri.

(Similarly let this king predominate over the heads of other Kshatriyas.)

(5) Ayam rájá Indrasya jajnabhájo debasya priyah ishtataro bhuyát.—A.V.-4. 22. 4.—Lahiri.

(May this king be favourite of Indra.)

(6) .....ájnámátrena sarbbá bisháh svarástrasthah prajáh addhi bhunkshva.—A.V.-4. 22. 7.—Lahiri.

(May this king subjugate all his subjects by his order.)

As powers of the king are associated with the God Indra he becomes or is Divine ; he is born to be a king ; he becomes a king. The priests at the coronation prays for blessing of Heavens so that the king may be kind, considerate, just, loving and be loved by his subjects, and strong enough to hold his enemies always in awe of him.

All the above quoted provisions taken together seem to me to lead but to one conclusion, and that is the king's divine right, and to non-existence of any administration or Government by the people or their representative.

Though by some much stress has been laid upon the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the ancient Smritis, it is to be

remembered that none of them was composed in Bengal or by a Bengalee; but most of them were composed in the Punjab, and a few in other places up to Ajodhya. An ancestor of Sriram Chandra of Ajodhya was a Rishi in one of the three earlier Vedas. However they are no doubt authorities in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in religious matters of the Hindus.

It it said that there are words in Sanskrit dramas, fictions, novels and anecdotes indicating existence of people's voice in matters of State. Without attempting to examine them in this short essay it may fairly be said that they are concoctions of fertile brains like some of the well-known French novelists, etc. They are not records of history or authentic. On the other hand we find the titles Raja, Maharaja, Maharajadhiraj, Samrat, etc., in all ancient literature.

The writings in the Vedas were mantras or hymns or prayers to God. They were compiled by Rishis who were ascetics and who lived far away from the termoils of secular life. They would not mix in politics but would always pray for king's peoples and their own happiness in this and in the next world. Moreover different chapters were written at different times, and by different Rishis. These are well-established uncontradicted truths.

From the examples quoted it will be seen that there is even no remote reference to political societies in the Rig Veda and the Atharba Veda. Of the examples found in those Vedas as to Savá and Samiti, in only two there is reference to the people collectively; but none refers to political societies for the election of a king or president of the State. It is a truism that a king is stable in his throne when his subjects love him. There is no qnestion of fear of the king. In the Sukraniti, Arthasástra, Mahábhárat, Srimad Bhágabat, and Bhagabat Geeta, the same love is preached for stability of the state or the family, even if the family be of the patriarchal form. There is no passage to show that the subjects would dethrone a king whom they do not love, nor of authority to make him king whom they loved

best. There is no mention of the formation of Civil Associations or of any rule for electing king. Later on the rules for guidance, in case the king become licentious, very hard and oppressive, will be seen.

In this connection ancient village constitution in primitive times as found by the learned is also to be considered. Then the patriarchal people were obedient to their headman. This headman gradually gained power, and in course of time kingship or monarchy grew up. Traces of this system of control by headman are yet to be found in the upper Garo Hills in Assam, where yet the people are stark naked, and who in winter make themselves comfortable by barks of trees made flat to serve the purpose of quilts. The people there ungrudgingly obey the orders of their headman.

It is not possible to discuss all the matters, referred to above, affecting the whole of ancient Hindusthán or Bhárat-barsha, in this short essay. So I have limited my subject to the ancient political system of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

(To be continued.)

SARAT CHANDRA GHOSH

MAETERLINCK—THE DRAMATIST

There is a stage in the evolution of man's intellectual and spiritual consciousness wherein what we call instinct, mind's power of immediate perception of things, retains its pristine freshness, and directs men in their adjustment to forces which control life and determine destiny. The instinct I speak of here has all the characteristics of a primitive consciousness—consciousness whose very stuff is impulse and passion, and wherein reason and reflection have not yet emerged from a state of latent dormancy into a normal factor of conduct and necessary preliminaries of action. It is free from the puzzling contractions and annoying formalities of a soul refined by culture and education, and twisted by codes and conventions of an established social system. The activities of the will power are almost nil, and the agents seek highest satisfaction of their being in an attitude of unescapable resignation they take up towards whatever forces tend to make their life unhappy and miserable. The faculty of perception I describe here under the name of primary feelings is far removed from the intuition, unerring wisdom of a saint, though it belongs to an emotional level far higher than that of a mere animal existence. It is not free from error and has little or no pretension to the virtue of infallibility. It has, on the other hand, a fateful knack of making a blunder, giving a wrong direction to the vessel of life it takes charge of, in the most critical moment of its journey towards happiness. But whether right or wrong in its judgment, whether conducive to happiness or misery in its consequence, the stage of mental evolution I propose to focus our attention upon, is a stage at which the instinct in question holds sway over man's life without a rival to contest its authority, without a superior guide to rectify its mistakes. The people in whom this mental phenomenon gets the upper hand are not much accustomed to the

habit of weighing the *pros* and *cons* of a question. They are not much accustomed to the habit of wasting time in indecision, and showing vacillation in the selection of a course when confronted by the cross-currents of conflicting situations. They exhibit remarkable quickness and promptitude in responding to every stimulus that comes within the purview of their experience, and that threatens to have a momentous effect upon the vital interest of their existence. Upon every joy that arrives, upon every sorrow that they encounter on the way, upon every event that stirs up from the dead slumber of the future, they react, if they do react at all, by a prompt and immediate decision, though all the time they may be aware that the step they are going to take, the house whose windows they endeavour to fling open, the event that they seek to summon up from the distant and inaccessible horizon of existence, may reveal no murmur of delight but terrible convulsions of pain and sorrow. They are most nervously sensitive as to the importunate demand life persistently makes for happiness. They have a vague and intermittent craving for truth, goodness, justice, beauty;—attributes which enter as inevitable ingredients into the composition of what we call "higher and loftier consciousness";—they have a vague and half-understood yearning after better comprehension of truth, steadier adherence to justice, keener appreciation of beauty, nobler endurance of sorrow, and greater abhorrence of ugliness. They are impelled by a half-operative, almost slumbering desire to penetrate deeper, to know and respect "the secret intention of life," and thereby invest their prosaic and fate-ridden existence with the glory of spiritual enhancement. They are, on the other hand, most desperately cognisant of their own limitations, of their lack of power to understand events and to control their movements. They are painfully aware of the certain failure of their efforts, of their hopeless dependence upon the over-ruling decrees and immutable arrangement of an inexorable power we call Destiny. The feeling which they indulge in, the thought which they permit to enter, the action

which both lead to, do therefore fall into a natural and inevitable tendency to end in a sad and painful tragedy. There is nothing about them which is fundamentally incompatible with truth, justice, goodness and beauty; nothing about their life of actions, feeling, and intellect which is irreconcilable with power and wisdom—factors which of themselves are potent enough to neutralise any tragic possibilities. But the most innocent exertion for joy, the most generous flames of love that burn in the secret chamber of a beautiful and devoted soul, the most well-regulated endeavour after purity of intention, are foredoomed to failure, and pre-ordained for suffering. They seem to be held in the terrible grip of a malignant presence from whom there is no escape; of a mysterious and inscrutable principle which seems to wrap up their entire existence and whose commands they have no strength to withstand, and no courage to disobey. They seem to be bereft of the power that belongs to a free agent, of a power to make deliberate choice either of good or evil on their own initiative and own responsibility. "With eyes dim with unbidden tears," "with limbs moist with the pale sweat of agony," they rush headlong into whatever doom or destiny a superior majestic and inexplicable force may be predetermined for them and woven around them. The feeling of pain for non-fulfilment of moral obligations, of sorrow for the forced abandonment of life's long-cherished plans, disturbs the soul; but the same feeling does not accompany consciousness of power needed to make good the obligations and needed to execute the plans so cherished. The heroes and heroines whose actions form the subject of moral judgment in the dramas we are considering may legitimately claim the indemnity and immunity of a non-moral and non-responsible being. Whether they rise to the unapproachable grandeur of a sainthood, or whether they stoop to the most barbarous ill-will and most unrelenting designs of a terrible agenger the impression left on the mind in each case is that the agents are doing nothing but carry out the bidding of an immense and irresistible force other and greater than their own. This apparent

absence of responsibility of free agents does not in the least impair the effect of a tragic interpretation of life. The victims of tragedy have retained in their consciousness a faint memory of the goodness, purity, and wisdom and simplicity that sparkled amid the waters of the ocean from which they derived their existence. In the world where their lot has been cast in, where they are hedged in on all sides by insurmountable barriers and perplexed by encircling gloom, their unconscious or subconscious soul gravitates towards that once-experienced but now forgotten radiance as spontaneously as the petals of a lily open up to the first streak of sunshine that visit the Earth. But the memory is deceptive; the ardour is half-hearted and fugitive; the odds are too many, and the victory on the opponent's side as decisive as the contest against him is unequal and ill-matched. When desire for nobility revives after prolonged state of oblivion and lethargy, what brings sorrow to the heart is not the reflection that the desire felt was not realised, but the painful experience that it was not felt earlier and that it was not felt with a more impetuous yearning of heart, and firmer resolution of will. In the dramas of Maeterlinck the tragic pain is born of a consciousness of the ill-proportioned contest between the instinctive tendencies of a blind and struggling soul and the irresistible and awe-inspiring principle of the world called Destiny. The tragic pain is not manifested in the outbursts of external and visible sorrow. But because the pain felt and suffering endured are inward and reticent, the depth and intensity of the same are not to be questioned.

The psychological commentary as is embodied in the lines which precede this paragraph will serve as an appropriate and helpful introduction to the dramas whose present achievements and future possibilities are so much engaging the attention of a section of modern critical readers. I postpone for future treatment a fuller consideration of what constitutes the distinctive features of what we have been familiar with as the "Static" dramas of Maeterlinck, as well as of the limitations which such

a species of drama inevitably imposes, and of the warning with which the founder of the type desires us to interpret its significance. For the present it will suffice for us to remember that with a view to a thorough understanding and proper appreciation of the spirit of the Maeterlinckian drama, we should at the outset acquaint ourselves with the psychological and mystic atmosphere in the midst of which the dramatic complications take their rise, and the so-called unravelling of the plot is reached. Even a most superficial attempt to obtain such an acquaintance will reveal that the two principal factors which loom large through the misty atmosphere of Maeterlinck—factors the mutual opposition of which form the substructure of his earlier tragedies—are man's everlasting quest after what belongs to him in the depth of his soul (or what he considers to be his soul) and the unremitting operation of a force one identifies with fate and one experiences as one strives towards what seems to hold in its hand the key to one's power and happiness. The conflict from which the psychological and moral justification of a tragic conclusion springs is not due to a maladjustment between a deficient intellect or deformed morality, and the ever-active and *uneliminable* laws of universal Order none can break with impunity. The tragedy is traceable to no defect in character or error in judgment—defect and error which it is within the conscious possibility of the agent to amend or rectify. Nor does it originate from the hostile intervention of Destiny whom we have been able to localise, and upon whom we have been able to confer an explicable nature and a comprehensible existence—explicable and comprehensible at least for the practical purposes of life. The atmosphere is neither Greek nor Shakespearean, though there is a good deal of similarity between the two. The chief protagonists are the inalienable tendency and mood of a human soul and the eternal world-principle whose mode of operation is beyond the reach of human comprehension. The question that naturally arises and inevitably presses for a solution is "what should be man's attitude to the

world-constitution, what should support and sustain him in his pathetic struggle against the inexorable power that dominates all things?''—power that operates in a spirit of ruthless antagonism to the least effort man's soul makes towards the realisation of its long-nursed desire. The conclusion from which there is no logical escape is the sombre conclusion of an intellectually-convinced fatalist and a morally resigned pessimist. The theory of 'inherent dignity' which Maeterlinck claims for human life in his more mature productions,—dignity such as belongs only to an actual attainment and a positive realisation, does ill harmonise with the pessimistic canvas on which 'life' is painted in his early dramas. We are forced to admit that an unmitigated pessimism forms the warf and weft of Maeterlinck's earliest productions, and though the clouds melted away and a sunshine of courageous optimism burst upon him as his strength increased and contemplation matured, the earlier writings do nothing more than contain a mere emotional suggestion of it in a very uncertain manner and a faltering voice.

In his mature productions, Maeterlinck directs his unconscious endeavour towards diminishing mens' faith in the sacredness of the custom, tradition and convention which a mediocre conduct and an unregenerated social organisation bring into currency and maintain in unsuspected popularity. He deliberately excludes from his dramatic scope the presentation of actions which are inspired by respect for and protest against the outlook and point-of-view which are automatically fostered by a popularly accepted but philosophically unwarranted system. Modern dramas abound with innumerable notes of protest and indignation against the current standard of social and moral valuation. The philosophy of revolt which has influenced in literature an unrestrained ventilation of this indignant protest and ever-increasing discontentment has paved the way for the production of widely different types of drama—a drama of painless and unreasoned optimism on the one hand, and a drama of gloomy and uncompromising pessimism on the other. One

class of artists has imported from the higher sphere of speculation into their own province a "suspension of will to live" as the ultimate solution to the problems which disturb man's imagination and which darken his happiness. Another class has sought and fancies to have found what truth would strengthen the foundation of a philosophical naturalism in "misery, evil and crime, the curse of heredity, and the ugliness of poverty."

The Ibsenian type which has arrested the imagination of the theatre-going public more powerfully than any other we have mentioned above has ushered in a new measure of valuation where the entire emphasis is laid upon an attitude of strife and ceaseless struggle, and a doctrine of unremitting exertion of will and assertion of personality in order that the healthy process of reorganisation in future may go on unimpeded after the present age shall have completed its arduous but unwilling task of destruction. It is not my purpose here to form an estimate of the extent to which Maeterlinck was influenced, directly or indirectly, negatively or positively, by these various allied and contradictory forces which are still flowing into modern literature from the school of Russian Realism, French naturalism, German pessimism, and Ibsenian iconoclasm. All of these literary ideals and aims are more or less a definite and pronounced form of dissatisfaction with, and more or less a mild and savage attack upon, the current religion and the current morality ; and all of them, in their respective manner, encourage a mood of unbelief in, and a temper of non-conformity to, each of the systems so long held in esteem that could not be questioned. Like every leading figure who belongs to one or other of these dominant schools of thought, Maeterlinck also perceived in the prevailing religion and in the prevailing morality a serious menace to the development of what is best and profoundest in man. He also shares with them in their unfaltering faith, in the necessity of breaking away from the conventional morals and the conventional religion of the day. But the arguments and aim which prompted

Maeterlinck to a recognition of and an assertion of this necessity of non-conformity differ in a substantial manner from those which generated unrest and savage impatience among the realistic interpreters of life. Maeterlinck does not consider any useful purpose likely to be served by the delineation of a type of consciousness in whom diseased pessimism or an unreflecting optimism, or what is worse a cynical and light-hearted indifference to the accepted and long-believed fundamentals of life, form the principal and dominant characteristic. Nor does Maeterlinck profess to be in sympathy with the attitude of remonstrance and the sentiment of hatred which favour the growth and encourage the exhibition of a tendency to revolt, and of an inclination to destroy, with no previous conception as to what to believe in the place of the system proscribed and destroyed.

Maeterlinck is no less an ardent and solicitious student of the maladies of the present-day civilization than any of those dominating literary personalities we are familiar with. The diagnosis of modern maladies and presentation of remedy thereof has been almost a common fashion even with mediocrity in literature. Men as great as, or perhaps greater than, Maeterlinck have probed the cause of the modern confusion and the present-day discontentment. They have mostly ended by attributing them to the soul-cramping domination which the accepted ideas of morality and the accepted principles of religion exercise upon those who are born and nursed under them. They have brought into popularity the fashion of a dangerous experiment in the social, moral and artistic world —an experiment where the first assumed premise is negation of faith in the fundamentals of life. Inspite of their matchless power of artistic expression, inspite of their robust conception of a powerful intellect and fertile imagination, it is this deep-rooted bias against the basic principles of morality and religion which has rendered their otherwise promising labour so nugatory.

The greater portion of man's misery and unhappiness, Maeterlinck would say, and would have us believe, springs from his lack of perception that life is deep and that what we are so closely acquainted with as love, hate, pride and other passsions of the heart belong only to the outer fringe of our real existence. Though these things may please us an instant, "they please us," says Maeterlinck, " like flowers taken from their stalk," from the hidden and unperceived sources whence they derive their beauty and absorb their fargrance. "We possess an I, ' continues Maeterlinck in his interpretation of mystic philosophy by which he was so powerfully influenced, "we possess an 'I' which is deeper and more inexhaustible than 'I' of passions or of pure reason." No empty unrest, no savage impatience, no flippant cynicism, no invectives, no irony will bring us any the nearer to the solution of the problem, and the cure of the disease. Let us cultivate more and more what Maeterlinck describes as "active silence," and what Wordsworth has so finely summed up as "wise passiveness" through which, says Materlinck, Truth—"truth which will never betray but ever fortify,"—will flow unto us, unto all that sincerely seek it. "For," says Materlinck, "the child that is silent is a thousand times wiser than Marcus Aurelius speaking," and "our soul that does not judge as we do is a capricious hidden thing which may be reached by " breath and may be unaware of a tempest."

It is in the cultivation of the instincts of reverence, admiration and love for things spiritual for soul and everything it implies, that deliverance of men from the distracting confusion and maddening hurry and inpatience which are the deplorable evils of a modern standard of life consists. Materlinck would strike at the roots of the disease and would not remain content with a superficial remedy or a temporary cure. The most spiritual of modern writers, he exhorts men to believe in the dominance of spirit over matter, of idealism over materialism, of the religion of the soul over the authority and dogma of a church. A disciple of the philosophy of mysticism,

Maeterlinck has everywhere brought into prominence his conviction that "no intelligence has come nearer to divinity than that of Plotinus, the prince of transcendental metaphysics." Modern science, modern philosophy, modern morality, modern aesthetics have proved abortive in proportion as they have refused to derive sustenance from the imagination of the mystics, the pure water that flows from the fountain of mystic philosophy. It is far from Maeterlinck's intention to teach us to disparage or belittle the importance of the investigations undertaken and the conclusion arrived at by modern Science, modern Philosophy, modern Theology and modern Aesthetics. The truth which these investigations disclose have no doubt value of their own, but the "privilege which 'mystical truths' have over 'ordinary truths' is that they can neither age nor die." All these highly significant observations will make clear to us the direction in which Maeterlinck turned the train of his thought, and the field in which he reaped the harvest of truth and happiness. "He would fix our minds" in the language of Alfred Sutro, a dramatist and a popular translator of Maeterlinck, "upon the obscure, pre-conscious, what M. Faguet calls the incunabulary life of the soul...upon the higher life, the transcendental life, the divine life, the absolute life." He would not urge us so much to replenish our life of reason, as our life of spiritual emotion ; so much to invigorate our scientific and philosophic inquisitiveness as to awaken and cherish our instincts of "admiration, hope, and love"—for these are spiritual organs by means of which we not only 'live,' but also 'understand.'

Maeterlinck would thus restore men's faith in the fundamentals of life, in the "suprasensuous world" where these fundamentals lie and operate in undisturbed repose. He would revive in men their perception of what is deep and profound, of the "veiled life and the soul, of all that lies in the strange 'neutral zone' between the frontiers of consciousness and unconsciousness, of the mystery of life" 'which makes life worth

living.' Any search after power, any search after peace and happiness, undertaken on a line fundamentally different from Maeterlinck's will doom mankind to eternal moving in a vicious circle, and will compell the present difficulty confront us again in a new and more diturbing form. Let men therefore more closely examine their actions, let men therefore more scrutinisingly direct their thoughts and motives in order that they may be freed from such blunders as have so long withheld from them the light that shines in the soul of a saint. Let men assiduously cultivate, and unquestioningly surrender themselves to the invisible but friendly forces of goodness, justice, truth, beauty, love and wisdom which exist in us where we do not perceive, and which spring up within us how and whence we cannot answer. They will not perhaps guarantee us immunity from many ills and afflictions of life ; but they will teach us a point-of-view on the height or in the depth of which "our soul will transform them into light, for everything that falls into the soul irradiates."

I cannot omit recapitulation of the already-hinted fact that this spiritual unfoldment and mystic perception did not irradiate Maeterlinck's intellect all at once. This golden fruit was attained by him only after he had survived many a perilous journey on a rough and tempestuous ocean. In the dramas a consideration of which will follow, we shall meet Maeterlinck just embarked on his perilous adventure and far away from a safe harbour he ultimately reached.

JITENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA.

THE EXPANSION OF THE INDO-ARYAN RACES.

It is often assumed that the world was peopled by a series of migrations; ancient India was also not an exception to this. The earliest stratum of the migration into India seems to have been that of the Dravidians of South India, and the Brahui of Baluchistan, a small tribe speaking a Dravidian language, probably a reminiscent of the original settlement of the Dravidians in India before they migrated to South India. Then came the Aryans. Their entry was a gradual one probably extending over centuries. They first settled in the Kabul valley and in some portions of the Punjab as the Geographical names mentioned in the Rig Veda indicate. But there is abundant evidence, however, to show that during the period of the later Samhitās and the Brāhmanas, the Indo-Aryans had spread over the whole land as far as the Vindhyas on the south and Bengal on the east. Thus, for instance the legend of Mathava the Videgha carrying the sacrificial fire from the banks of the Sarasvati over Kośala as far as the Sadāuirā and establishing a settlement known as Videha, as recorded in the Satapatha-Brāhmana, clearly indicates an expansion of the Indo-Aryans up to the modern Gandak river. The Kaushitaki Upaniṣad mentions the Usinaras as well as the Videha, thus showing the extent of the Indo-Aryan world of that time. A further expansion in the east is suggested by the Aitareya Āranyaka which names the Vangas. That the Indo-Aryans had in the mean time begun to penetrate into the Deccan is also recorded in many texts. The Āranyaka, for instance, mentioned above refers to the Cheras as birds. Besides, Vidarbha, or modern Berar, is very frequently mentioned, such as in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmana, Aitareya Brāhmana etc., the latter also knows the Andhras, Pulindas, Sabaras, Matibas, etc., as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements. Thus we see that in

the period represented by the Brāhmanas, Āranyakas and Upaniṣads, the Indo-Aryans had spread themselves in the various parts of India.

But it must be admitted that in course of their expansion throughout the whole of North India, the Indo-Aryans were breaking up into several races and nations, each of which had a definite territorial limit of their own. Thus several settlements of the Indo-Aryan races grew up. Now, these races and peoples with the development of sedentary life increased their population and therewith they needed for external movements, widened their respective racial areas, enlarged their geographical horizon and evolved a greater mobility within and without. This mobility became the outward expression of a whole complex of economic wants, intellectual needs, and to some extent political ambitions, so it became embodied in the conquests which led to the building up of empires like the Mauryas and the Guptas, in the colonization which developed for India, a new India in the far Eastern islands, in the world-wide exchange of commodities and ideas, which revealed the role of internationalism displayed in the development of civilization, till the movement of the expansion of the Indo-Aryans became a fundamental fact of Ancient Indian History. Our knowledge of this expansion movement is meagre, only, ethnic fragments, linguistic survivals, or merely place names, dropped like discarded baggage along the march of a wandering people, bear witness everywhere to tragic recessionals.

Thus various Indo-Arayan races of northern India, peacefully and gradually penetrated into the different parts of India and set up settlements in the name of their ethnic designation. We know that the kingdom of the Kośalas centered round Saketa or Ayodhya. But it seems that afterwards they spread themselves southwards and founded a kingdom; their new establishment being called Daksina Kośala, in order to distinguish it from their original territory which therefore became Uttara Kośala. Here we see how the Kośalas, one of the various Indo-Aryan races, migrated

from their original home and colonised a portion of the Deccan. This colonisation, however, can only be regarded as an outward expression of the organised expansion of these Indo-Aryan people. Various other names which plainly refer to an ethnic division of settlements are all to be considered in this light. Thus the terms Uttara-Toṣalas and Dakṣiṇa-Toṣalas ; Purva-Daśārṇas and Paścima-Daśārṇas ; Sumallas and Dakṣiṇa-Mallas; Karusas and Dakṣiṇa-Karusas ; Kurus and Uttara-Kurus; Pañcālas, Prācya-Pañcālas, Uttara-Pañcālas and Dakṣiṇa-Pañcālas ; Kāsis, Apara-Kāsis and Dakśiṇa-Kāsis ; Videhas and Uttara-Videhas; Matsyas, Apara-Matsyas and Pratimatsyas, Madras, Purva-Madras, Apara-Madras and Uttara-Madras clearly indicate that all these Indo-Aryans races mentioned, had different settlements in the various parts of India, other than their original one, all of which arose as a result of the incessant movement, frequent wanderings and constant shifting of those primitive peoples. Such cosmic movements were but inevitable in case of a moving and expanding race. An expanding ethnic stream in search of more and better lands, drops off one group to occupy a fertile valley, leaves behind one laggard group to occupy a plain while the main body goes on its way till it reaches a satisfactory destination. It was exactly in this way that the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races was effected, of which the above place-names in which is plainly recognizable the races connected and which were dropped like discarded baggage along their march, bear witness. Also such terms such as Uttara-Ulukas, Apara-Vallabhas, Sumāheyas, Para-lauhityas, Pra-Sumhas, Uttara-Ṛṣikas, Apara-Sekas, Vindhya-Manabyas and Apara-Kuntis, which plainly refer to a divison of the same ethnic group, will add further instances of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races.

But this great historical movement, *i.e.*, the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races and peoples over the retarded regions of Ancient India was by no means an ephemeral and limited one. We find almost all the peoples falling in line with that

ceaseless racial movement. Thus we have abundant evidence of different settlements of various other races which unquestionably reflect the expanding and migrating activities of these people. Thus, for instance, the Pāndyas were a great expanding race who were originally settled probably around the Bidaspes, but were also scattered in various parts of Madhyadesa, such as in or near Delhi and in the basin of the river Chambal. But the story of their expansion did not end there. They went southwards and occupied the southernmost part of the peninsula and also it is shown, moved further southward and colonised Ceylon. There are other instances too. The Livis, a north-western people emigrated to the Deccan and founded a small kingdom; while the Andhras, who were a people of the south is proved by evidence to have originally been settlers on the bank of the Oxus. The Lāṭas also migrated to the south and founded different settlements. Similarly the Mālavas were a highly expanding race. Originally they were settlers in the Punjab. Evidence of their settlement in Rajputana is also to be found, as well as in Puskar near about Ajmere. But their southern expansion did not stop there. They went further south and developed their most important settlement in Malwa in Central India, the capital of which was Ujjayini. It is also interesting to note that the term Sapta-mālava is by no means to be rarely met with and the very frequent references of it are enough to show that the Mālavas were a highly expanding Indo-Aryan race. Likewise the Gonarddhas, a people of Oudh, expanded to Central India in a territory between Ujjain and Besnagar near Bhilsa; and so also, the Kekayas who were a people of the Punjab, emigrated to the Mysore country. The Kuntalas who were a Madhyadeśa people also outstripped their geographical horizon and migrated to the Bombay Presidency where they carved out a small principality of their own. The Asmakas or Assakas were also not an exception to this. They first settled in the Swat valley and then descended to the basin of the Indus, and also made a southward expansion which resulted in the formation of the famous Asmaka

kingdom on the banks of the Godāvarî. Again the Māhisakas of the south are proved by epigraphic monuments to have originally been settlers in the Punjab, which furnishes another instance of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races. Nor can we exempt the Gaṇḍas from this historical movement of peoples. If the identity of these people with the Guracans of Greek writers is agreed upon, it can be shown that the Gaṇḍas who originally settled in the Swat valley moved towards the east forming settlements in Upper Bihar and West Bengal. They also penetrated into the Deccan and carved out a principality on the banks of the Kāberî. The Gaṇḍas therefore spread themselves in the different parts of India. Probably it is in connection with such expansion of the Gaṇḍas, that the term Pañca-Gaṇḍa (*cf.* sapta mālava) came into being.

There are other instances but the few given above will give a faithful picture of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races in the different parts of India. It is of course true, as it has been admitted, that the colonisation of the retarded regions of ancient India by the various Indo-Aryan races were only an outward expression of a whole complex of economic wants, need for the outlet of surplus population, and to some extent political ambitions. Yet it is inconceivable that such wandering of the Indo-Aryan races whatever may be their compelling force, should leave no trace and vestige of their culture in the unknown lands they penetrated. Doubtless it was so. And these divergent Indo-Aryan races by dint of their higher spiritual intelligence and great constructive genius welded the Non-Aryans and other foreign elements of the colonised bands, into a common stock and the process of admixture led to the building up of an Aryan world in Ancient India. In this way Aryanisation of India was effected. But this was not all. The Indian colonists even tried to complete the transformation by importing the celebrated place-names of their respective homes into their new settlement. Thus we find a long list of Indian cities, the namesakes of which are to be found in the different parts of India. Not that

they suggest any further light on the expansion of the Indo-Aryans, but they are a valuable evidence to show how completely the transformation was effected, by the various Indo-Aryan races who imported not only their culture but also the place-names of their mother country into their new homes.

Thus there was a town called Pratiṣṭhāna on the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā and also another on the banks of the Godāvarî in the Nizam's dominion, which suggests an emigration of the Aila tribe. Similarly there were various Indraprasthas. The one near Delhi was famous but there was another principality of this name in lower Assam. Ahicchatra, we know, was the capital of Northern Pañcāla. But there was another Ahicchatra on the eastern side of the river Rāvî. In Central India also there was another town of that name. Likewise there were two Hastinapuras. The one in northern India is famous but an inscription proves the existence of a Hastināpura kingdom in southern India. There was also another Kānyakubja in the south, besides the famous one in the north. Inscriptional evidence also proves the existence of different Avantis. Biraṭa or Vairaṭ, the capital of the Matsyas, was, as is well-known, a city of northern India, but there was another place of that name in South India called Dakṣiṇa-Vairaṭa. The name Kandahar was also imported to the Deccan as Feristhā testifies. The name Mathurā, the famous city of Northern India was also eagerly adopted and transferred to a famous city of southern India, namely, Madurā which was accordingly called Dakṣiṇa Mathurā, and in the same way Kāñchi or Conjeeveram, a famous Saivite place of Southern India became Dakṣiṇa-Kāsi. Even hills and rivers of South India were not spared. Thus Godāvarî became Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā, Narmadā became Dakṣiṇa-Jamunā and the hills of Malabar coast became Dakṣiṇa-Kailāsa. This was the result of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races in Southern India.

But these celebrated place-names were not limited to India proper alone. It is a well-known practice for the colonists, as is to be found even in the colonies of European nations, to name

the new country after celebrated places of their motherland. And as the lands and islands of the Far East were colonised by the Indo-Aryans it is but natural to suppose that many place-names of further India would bear connection with Indian names. So we find new towns called Ayodhyā, Kausāmbhi, Srikṣetra, Dvārāvatî, Mathurā and countries like Campā and Cambodîā springing up in the lands and islands of the Far East.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI

LOVE-MOON

(1)

The Child at play :

In moon-light plays the girl,
Her smiles her face can't furl
In gentle stir of air
How floâts about her hair,
" Come darling moon from sky."
She says with sky-lift eye.*

(2)

Love-script :

With love-moon ever play
This death-life throw away
Is script of love-moon ray.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

* From Biharilal Chakravarti's Bengali.

NATIONALISATION—ITS BASIS AND APPLICATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

With the advance of socialistic thought in the world, there has also arisen a growing demand for nationalising the means of production essential for national prosperity. The fundamental basis of nationalisation is state ownership and state direction of the industrial machinery, which is now owned and directed by private individuals. The present industrial order based as it is upon the theory of individualism and Laissez. Faire has, to all intents and purposes, failed to have its existence continually justified, as it inevitably and necessarily results in the concentration of economic and industrial power in the hands of the few, to be enjoyed and employed by them for their own self-aggrandisement, while the many are reduced to the position of mere automatons and machines to be utilised for that end. The consequence of all this is the emergence of the phenomenon of the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer, a tendency which has brought in its train many sociological and political complications, calling for drastic remedies.

The concentration of wealth and the means of acquiring wealth in the hands of the few would not be fraught with deleterious consequences, if industrialists, individually and as a class, utilized their opportunities to improve the lot of the persons engaged in the actual work of producing the wealth and provided for their comforts; and it is a matter to be regretted that only a small proportion of the former are animated with genuine altruistic motives and made the necessary provision for or bestowed thought upon, the betterment of the workers. The existence of slumdom in almost every considerable industrial city and the continuance of blasphemously unworthy conditions

of life of Labour prevailing in almost every industrial country conclusively prove how woefully neglected have been the obligations imposed upon and the opportunities afforded to industrial magnates by the existing dispensation. The danger from this state of affairs is not merely that the present industrial and labour conditions will be allowed to continue unchecked, but that the State itself, as the expression and manifestation of the will of the community as a whole will be threatened with disruption. When peaceful agitation of a propagandist character on behalf of Labour, for better wages and improved conditions of life fails to have its desired effect, there will be nothing else left for it but to resort to direct action of a type calculated to block all legitimate industrial progress in addition to working out incalculable havoc to the nation in the direction of lowering industrial efficiency and diminishing industrial profits.

On the other hand, there is the other danger, equally potential of undesirable consequences to national interests, in the growth of combinations amongst capitalists and employers, the establishment of industrial cartels and trusts, which may, when they are not put under sufficient restraint by state-action in the beginning, gradually assume such strength and size, as to sweep everything before them and sometimes even overwhelm the state organisation, if not supersede it for all practical purposes. Such monopolistic combination of industrial concerns is highly dangerous to the community at large and prejudicially affects the large body of consumers, if the state does not wake up betimes and keep them under control by legislative or other action. The present-day tendency towards rationalization of industries, which is simply combination of industrial processes and agencies under another name is from this point of view fraught with serious possibilities, unless rationalization is so directed and so managed as not to lead to results usually associated with the industrial phenomena of the Trust and the Kartel.

II

From what has been said above, the necessity is established for the bringing about of a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry between the various factors engaged in producing the wealth from which those profits accrue. The problem facing individual nations as well as the world in general at present is the problem of this better distribution; and any change from the existing economic and industrial order would be justified only when it is fully demonstrated that it will lead to the amelioration in a substantial measure in the condition of those who are the sufferers by that order. If, therefore, any violent conflagrations incidental to an inequitable distribution are to be avoided, if revolutions based upon physical force both for their occurrence and sustenance are to be obviated, if in short the world is to be made a happy place to live in for the vast majority of human beings, who now do not feel it such, and who are now the victims of a social order based upon individual gain, the only method is to evolve a system in which the control of the productive and distributive processes will pass from the hands of individual industrial magnates or of combinations of them into the hands of a collective agency, which would hold the scales even between the different sections of the community and secure a better and a fairer apportionment of the national wealth.

It does not mean of course that what is advocated here is the wholesale expropriation of private interests and invasion into and occupation of private rights; but it is only a plea for a greater control by the collective agency of the State of the machinery of production, distribution and exchange, in all those cases where that machinery has attained proportions which begin to threaten the foundations of society and even of the State Organisation itself, which is but an expression of the social will for common purposes. For we cannot

but acknowledge that in spite of its latter-day thirst for profits and selfish gains, the individualistic regime has accomplished much and has achieved certain notable successes in the field of industrial expansion, experimentation and research and that it has not yet completely exhausted all its possibilities for more useful work in the same direction, if properly controlled and directed into channels, which hitherto have not secured its affiliation, channels wherein it could introduce a more humanitarian touch in its relations with labour, by taking it into its confidence, by animating it with a sense of importance of its own work and contribution to industrial progress and by giving it a place in the industrial order which is rightfully its.

III

The present state of affairs is rich in potentialities for class conflict or "class war," in so far as it results in mutual antagonism and irreconcilable disharmony, in the division of society into horizontal sections, and in the prevention of the realization of that supreme ideal of world-brotherhood, which is the dream of political and economic philosophers. Combinations are at present the order of the day in the industrial sphere; and when combinations take place amongst the capitalists and industrialists, they naturally and inevitably tend to provoke combinations amongst the labourers and the working classes. And the struggle that will ensue between the two organized forces of hostility and antagonism will lead to resort being had to direct action and general strikes on the part of the latter and to the use of military force and other brutal methods of strike-breaking on the part of the former. In between these two mutually destructive forces stands the general mass of the population, who are neither capitalists nor labourers, but who depend for their existence upon the fruits of the combined action on the part of both parties, and who therefore whenever

a conflict arises between them, stand to suffer much misery and unhappiness. The loss to the country and the community on account of such strife between labour and capital in the shape of energy, skill, man-power and national profits is incalculable. Industrial efficiency is lowered, industrial capital is either wholly lacking or takes flight to foreign countries to the detriment of national interests, and national health and prosperity is impaired irreparably—all because adequate attention has not been paid to the all-important question of keeping above discontent large masses of human beings who are the prime agencies in keeping up a country's greatness, industrial and otherwise. The violent Revolution that ended the Czarist regime in Russia and led to the establishment of a Proletarian Republic and, on a comparatively small or scale, the General Strike in England in 1924, which led to a huge dislocation of the industrial order are examples of what a capitalistic regime which results in frequent conflicts between Labour and Capital is capable of producing.

IV

The Western countries which have advanced industrially have experienced and are experiencing the fruits of the present-day organization of society in a greater or lesser degree ; and their experiences are a lesson to us in India to avoid all those troubles incidental to a capitalistic order and to proceed along lines which reconcile the antithetical elements and make for ordered progress. Under the British direction and under the influence of the British example, our industrial development, such as it is, has proceeded on the principles of "Laissez Faire," a principle which however is not entirely suited to the conditions in our country, habituated as we are traditionally to the policy of state initiative in many matters of importance. But we are now only at the commencement of an era of industrialism and therefore have not yet been acutely experiencing

all those evils appertaining to the individualistic or capitalistic order, though it cannot be said that we are entirely free from them even now. The future of India's ordered industrial progress depends however to a very large extent upon the readiness of the State to take steps to obviate the disadvantages and dangers of the capitalistic-*cum*-individualistic organization. It can be affirmed any way that Indian thought on this subject is in a very large measure favourable to the ideal of State-Socialism, and many of us realize that the State in India has got many more functions to perform than in some other countries and that it must perform them in such a way as to secure the material and moral advancement of the masses of the people, who are without initiative, education and resources and who are therefore more susceptible of being exploited by interested individuals and organisations. It may be assumed without much fear of contradiction that measures designed to ensure national control of industrial operations of an essential character will not encounter any serious opposition in our country, while, in regard to other industries which may be left in private hands, their dependence upon the State for Protection against outside competition and for direct assistance, financial and otherwise, should be a powerful factor to enable that organisation to exercise considerable powers of direction, if not of actual control, over them and make them pursue policies calculated to promote the public weal. The prevalent feeling therefore in favour of state direction and control ought to serve as a useful and powerful lever for achieving the gradual replacement of the doctrine of "Laissez Faire" by that of Nationalization and State-Socialism.

V

Amongst the matters to be borne in mind in connection with Nationalization is one which is of primary import, and that is the determination of the stage in the development of an

industry when a Government is entitled to take its management in its own hands. The question is, is it necessary or desirable even if it is possible for a State to take the initiative in starting industries and managing them without first gauging the extent of private enterprise ready to undertake that business or is it adequate if it has from the very beginning a dominating voice in the management of a business, taking it over under its own control only when it is well on its way to making substantial profits which cannot very well be allowed to be absorbed into private pockets. Considered from the point of view of pure theory, the latter course is the more desirable and the more advantageous, since it will give time to the collective agency to see that the interests of the general public and taxpayer are not unduly or heedlessly imperilled by its risking public capital on an enterprise, the prospects of the success of which are unknown or still in doubt, while, at the same time it secures to the public all the benefits incidental to public management when an undertaking is proved profitable beyond all question. But then this condition postulates the existence of another circumstance and that is that there is in a country enough of enterprising spirit amongst individuals and enough of capital capable of being invested in industrial concerns. If private effort is ready and willing to launch upon new undertakings and experiment in their working, and if private persons or corporations are so capable and so much actuated by altruistic feelings as to consider the higher interests of the public at large and the country, then there is everything to be said in favour of the procedure adambrated above. For, in fact, almost every industrially advanced country owes, as has already been said, a good deal to the individualistic order and to individual industrialists for the pioneering work which they accomplished and for the contribution to the industrial advancement and economic prosperity of their respective countries which they have made. In India, however, the great difficulty and impediment in the way of our industrial progress

has been and still is the dearth of private initiative and the shyness of private capital to come out to foster the industrial and manufacturing growth of the country. And a special and peculiar responsibility is thereby thrown upon the State not only to draw out the dormant capital and encourage initiative but also to mobilize that capital and initiative in an effective way, so that they may flow along channels which will prove most profitable to the country at large, without at the same time allowing them to manifest the undesirable consequences which an unbridled and free capitalistic order would bring in its train.

VI

A further point to be considered in this discussion on the problem of nationalization is whether nationalization is at all a feasible ideal capable of being successfully put into operation in the conditions obtaining in the present-day world, when democratic rule is spreading its influence everywhere. Individualists are prone to aver that State-management of industrial processes under a democratic dispensation is destined to prove a failure and end in a breakdown owing to the inherent incapacity of democratic Governments to tackle technical and industrial problems with success and efficiency. It will be contended that in a Democracy much will depend upon the whims and caprices of the people who hold the supreme power, that the representatives of the people who come to occupy seats of power are in many instances incapable of appreciating the intricate technicalities involved in the management of industrial and business matters, that officials are appointed more on account of their party affiliations than for proved efficiency, and that generally persons in power are more inclined than in other forms of Government to be swayed by motives other than actual capacity and more susceptible to influences not altogether conducive to the successful and profitable management of

industrial undertakings. But that Democracies, including therein all the professedly Republican countries and also monarchical countries democratically governed, have amply succeeded in demonstrating their capacity to undertake the work of managing and controlling productive enterprises is clear from the Socialistic experiments now being carried on in various countries. A huge experiment in State direction and management of all branches of productive enterprise and industrial activity is being worked out in Soviet Russia ; and from all accounts it seems that it is being carried with a good deal of success, leading a reputed Economist of the United States of America to remark that the capitalistic countries have much to learn from the Soviet Economic system in the matter of harmonizing productive efficiency with a Republican form of Government. In other European and other countries, many large manufacturing industries are worked under the direct supervision and control of a state department, while in certain others, the Government has got a monopoly for the manufacture and sale of particular commodities of consumption like salt in India and tobacco in France, for which there is a widespread demand from the public. Many Municipal and county Corporations in India and in several other countries, are managing public utility enterprises like Gas, Electricity and Water Works with conspicuous ability and success and without any serious complaint being preferred against them for incompetency and corruption or for any other serious offence. In addition to all this, there are many instances of even large-scale, nation-wide industrial undertakings being indirectly subjected to the control of the state, though they are not under direct state-management, in so far as the state periodically sets itself to the task of scrutinizing their proper working in the interests of the workers and of the public at large. Such enterprises are either directly subsidized by the state or indirectly assisted by means of protective restrictions against outside competition and by other

measures calculated to induce them to keep up their productive efficiency ; and all these are only instances in differing degrees of the application of the principle of Nationalization.

VII

There is and always will be a close interdependence between the political and economic impulses operating in a country and the political and economic policies pursued by its Government ; and even so, wherever democratic forms of Government come to be established, there is necessarily a demand for and a movement in favour of, greater equality of opportunities for all and of greater equity in the distribution of national profits. With the advance of democratic thought in the world there has been an imperceptible but genuine advance towards realizing this ideal even in countries which have been capitalistic to the core, towards extending the sphere of state activity and utilizing the machinery of the state for bringing about improved conditions in the life and living of the labouring classes and lastly towards achieving generally the ideal of equitable distribution and mitigation of the gulf that divides man and man and one group and class of men and another. The result of all this is that even writers who cannot be suspected of any feeling antagonistic to the capitalistic and the "Laissez Faire," dispensation have come and are coming to advocate the management by the state if not of all the national services at least of those which can be described as being technically social. They also express themselves in favour of the gradual and ultimate socialization of capitalism, through semi-autonomous bodies like the public corporations subject to the ultimate control of the democratic state. There is thus coming about a rapid change of opinion in support of the view that more and more attention should be bestowed upon the reforming and improving of the old capitalistic and individualistic system, so as to bring it into line with the changing political and economic thought and to weed out its

defects and deficiencies by Legislative and state action, with the ultimate idea of replacing self-interest incidental to individualism by altruism, which takes into account the well being of the entire community.

From what has been said, it follows that the undertaking of a programme of Nationalization presupposes the existence as a preliminary of a National Government, fully alive to the needs and requirements of a country and endeavouring in everything that it does to promote the interest of the nation resigned into its charge in all ways. A Government such as the one we have in our own country cannot by any means be described as a National Government: it has to serve two masters and owes two allegiances, one to the people of India and the other to the people of England, the latter always or almost always being in a position to dictate their policy and capable of bringing down the scales in their favour in all crucial matters. It is not therefore the present Government which can carry through boldly a programme of Nationalization with judgment or success. A national government has to be established as a condition precedent to the pursuit of a beneficial nationalizing process. We have been feeling the absence of it all these years, but never more acutely as when the fiscal, the commercial and industrial interests of India come up for discussion and determination; for in all such matters, the Government of India has its eyes always more upon the repercussions which their policy will have upon the interests of the British nation and British interests than upon its potentialities to promote Indian national prosperity.

VIII

Having thus far seen some of the main principles which should be borne in mind in connection with the State-Management of the industrial machinery, we shall in this section and those that follow endeavour to notice how far and to what extent those principles prove applicable in the case of some of our

important industries and in what direction the State in India can usefully extend its activities so as to enable the country to reap the advantages of that policy.

We shall first take up the most outstanding instance of the Railways, which are the chief means of transport. The public opinion in India has always been overwhelmingly in favour of State-Ownership and Management of Railways; and the Government have come into line with public opinion on the question, when, acting on the recommendations of the Acworth Committee on Indian Railways, they accepted the Resolution of the Legislative Assembly in 1924 and agreed to take over the management of the Railways as and when occasion arose. The Government of India assumed, in the first instance, the management of certain lines of Railway, giving the assurance that they would follow up this policy whenever an opportunity arose and whenever the contracts and leases of the other lines terminate. The policy so commenced and worked out has proved a success financially and otherwise : not only has the central Exchequer been receiving increasing contributions from the Railway Department and a Reserve Fund is being built up, but also more and more attention, though not quite to the adequate extent as yet, is coming to be devoted to the question of ameliorating and bettering the conditions of living and the wages of the Railway Employees. The principle of State-Management of Railways was strenuously opposed by certain vested interests, especially by the Companies, which were hitherto in control over them and which were making huge profits ; and stock arguments, with which everyone who is acquainted with the discussion is familiar, were urged in favour of the continuance of the old system. It required a great courage on the part of the Government to supersede the opposition and assume responsibility for the management of the Railways in addition to the virtual ownership of them which they even now possess. When a purely national Government responsive to the wishes and interests of the people is established as it may be in the near future, then there will be illimitable

opportunities provided to it, on account of its ownership and managing authority over the Railways, to advance the commercial and industrial progress of the country, to open up the undeveloped parts of the land and exploit the dormant resources by constructing new lines of Railways, to undertake the construction of the necessary irrigation or navigation channels in aid of or in relief to, the Railways, and for several other purposes besices. If we are to derive full benefit and advantage from our Railways, either in the direction of increasing the wages of workmen employed in them, or of improving the conditions of travel of the third class passengers who provide for the bulk of the Railway revenues, or of making provision for efficient, well-equipped workshops and factories in India for the supply of railway plant and material, for which we now depend upon foreign countries or lastly of securing an adjustment of the Railways for the benefit of Indian traders and merchants, then the only feasible and practicable method is to see the principle of state management of Railways extended to its utmost limits. Even with regard to Railways not directly under State-Management, the state ought to utilize its undoubtedly large influence with their Boards of Management to so direct their policy as to remove unfair discriminations in rates, to undertake the opening of new branch lines according to the needs of the country and generally to act in such a way as to advance the public interests.

IX

We shall next take up the case of the Indian Shipping Industry. That industry was once in a flourishing condition when Indian ship-building yards were constantly kept busy and the Indian Mercantile marine was in charge of the huge carrying trade of the country ; but it has since decayed and practically gone out of existence, owing partly to the selfish and unscrupulous policy pursued by the British people and the British ship-building and ship-owning companies but largely and in the main on

account of the indifferent attitude adopted by the Government of India towards the development of indigenous industrial enterprises and towards the adoption of measures calculated to enhance and rehabilitate the national glory. Attempts have in recent times been made to induce the Government to pursue a more vigorous programme of re-instating the dilapidated industry and recovering for Indian enterprise the position as the carrier of India's coastal trade and traffic which it occupied in times past; but they (the Government) have almost always tamely surrendered to the clamour of expropriation raised by foreign vested interests and shirked their duty towards the nation of which they claim to be the guardians and trustees. The Indian shipping industry has therefore immense potentialities for expansion and progress, which will, if properly exploited and conserved for national purposes, enable the country to reap great profit and which is capable of solving in a satisfactory and effective manner, along with the Railways, the problem of Indian transport. Taking things as they are at present, not only is private enterprise late and slow in coming forth and also not strong enough to stand the severe foreign competition when it does come forth, but it may in addition be found unequal to meet the requirements of the whole nation, notwithstanding, of course, the fact that all honour is due to those Indian shipping companies which have been carrying on their work and maintaining their ground even now against the cut-throat competition and severe rate-war indulged in by companies of foreign origin. Such private enterprise as has been stimulated so far will also stand a very considerable chance of being stifled out of existence, if it is not assisted by the state and enabled by such assistance to stand on their own legs; while the assistance itself should take the shape, firstly, of legislation being undertaken to reserve the Indian coastal traffic exclusively to Indian shipping companies and secondly of direct bounties and subsidies being given to the ship-building and ship-owning firms. This practice of granting bounties from the public

revenues to private companies, whose managements are not amenable to public control is however fraught with serious disadvantages and is open to objection from more points of view than one, while at the same time it may be more expensive than it is remunerative. Moreover, in a country like ours with an extensive coastline and with a foreign trade already very considerable in size and with prospects of growing into greater proportions in the future, India stands in need of a big merchant marine not only for carrying on her coastal trade but to serve the interests of her foreign commerce also; and the construction of such a big marine may be deemed beyond the capacity of private individuals or firms. The profits which are likely to accrue when once the Indian Merchant Marine becomes an established proposition and takes over charge of the entire trading enterprise of the country will also be too huge to be allowed to enrich the pockets of private individuals to the detriment of the community and the nation at large. If the whole industry is left to private initiative to undertake and manage—and Mr. S. N. Haji (all honour to him for taking in hand the problem of the Reservation of Coastal Traffic in the Indian Legislative Assembly) is an advocate of the view that it should be so left—then not only will ruinous competition ensue between the Indian companies themselves, but an industry of direct importance to the state will become the stronghold of powerful vested interests, which would frustrate policies of public benefit.

X

Another industry to which the principle of nationalization can be applied is the coal-mining industry. The almost inhuman conditions of labour prevailing in areas where the coal industry is being worked, coupled with the lack of realization on the part of the employers of the necessity for improving the wages and conditions of work of the workers point to a real need

for taking over the industry under national management. The Coal-Mining Industry in India is still in comparatively an early stage of development, while its resources and its possibilities for expansion are, in the view of experts, illimitable ; and, as it is the case with the shipping industry, and the Railways, it is very essential to the progress of the country on the industrial and the manufacturing side. There is a close inter-connection and a no less close inter-dependence between Railway expansion and coal-mining, for the former subsists mainly upon the product of the latter for its working ; and, as it is, we have been importing a part of our requirements of coal supplies from South Africa and other foreign countries. And when it is postulated, as it is done previously in this article, that our Railways should be nationalized and worked as a public concern, it inevitably follows that the coal-mining industry also should be similarly nationalized. In addition to all this, there is also much to be done in the direction of improving the labour conditions in the coal industry, of limiting the hours of work in the pits, and of regulating the work of women and children engaged in the work, all of which can be accomplished only by the State acting as entrepreneur. It is from all these points of view an appropriate industry for being managed by the State as a public undertaking on a co-operative basis.

The Banking and Insurance business of the country, which is bringing crores of profit to private individuals, mostly of non-Indian domicile, is another legitimate field in which the experiment of state enterprise may be tried with much profit. As Prof. K. T. Shah writes, if, in addition to the orthodox and conservative types of banking business, the State embarks upon a more ambitious scheme of industrial and agricultural financing business, which has hitherto been left untried, if besides the hackneyed business of fire, life and marine insurance, the state affords insurance against such things as Railway accidents, industrial disabilities and agricultural pests, the scope can be very considerably extended without involving much outlay on

the part of the state. The existing privately managed institutions in this field are admittedly inadequate for the needs of the country, even in the limited field in which they operate and there is no estimating how much time and effort would be required to draw out private initiative comprehensive enough to cover the whole field. There could, therefore, be no reasonable objection to the state extending its activities in the same sphere for public benefit : the existing corporations may very well gain by the support of the state institutions when they are established. The proposed incorporation of a Central Reserve Bank under state supervision but private, independent management, is a welcome step and should be looked forward to with much hope. But the Government has much to do to foster the growth of our industries and improve the lot of the agriculturists and the agricultural industry, which it can do by establishing under its own control a Central Land Mortgage Bank and a Central Industrial Bank with branches in the various Presidency towns, to finance the agricultural industry and encourage the establishment of new manufacturing industries. The nationalization of the Country's Banking business is an urgent necessity, if we are to march forward towards the goal of industrial self-sufficiency with rapid strides.

Besides the above, there are other important industries like the Cotton Textile, the Iron and the Steel industries which are now under private ownership and management, but for which the state has had, and perhaps will have for a long time, to extend assistance directly or indirectly, in order to prevent their being run down by outside foreign competition. So long as these industries receive State help in one shape or other, it is obligatory on their part to see that they keep up and maintain the standards of efficiency and working conditions prescribed for them and to have, as their prime consideration, the safeguarding of the interests of the consumers on the one hand and the workers on the other; and they should take care to see that their management is carried on in such a way as to give no room

for complaints being heard against them in either of these particulars and so as to provide no opportunities for the feeling to gain ground amongst the public that they were not brought under national control. The state should also make it a condition precedent to its according the needed aid to them that the managements of these industries respect these obligations in a scrupulous manner, the necessity for such a procedure being paramount in the case of a "key industry" like the Steel Industry, which otherwise would be better managed as a national industry.

XI

In India, the practical realization of the principle of nationalization does not present any insuperable difficulties, as here, the feeling in favour of it is almost overwhelming and we look to the state to do very many things capable of promoting the national prosperity, which in other countries would be left to private effort. It is also easier to apply and introduce the principle with greater chances of success in our present-day conditions, when, as has been said at the beginning, we are on the threshold of an industrial revolution and at the commencement of an era of change in several spheres of activity, not the least important among them being the political and constitutional sphere. While the state can advantageously take over the management of new industries yet to be started or are only in the initial stage of growth, the principle of nationalisation can be tried on a limited scale, even in the established industries like Steel, Jute and Cotton.

In this connection it has to be stated as a proposition worth consideration that when nationalisation comes to be carried out into practical operation on a large scale, it will necessitate the establishment of new governmental departments to manage the nationalized industries and also the expenditure of public

funds on the maintenance of those departments. The multiplication of state departments need not be a source of much danger so long as there is real centralised control with as much of local autonomy as is compatible with safety and the speedy and expeditious taking and executing of decisions. This demands a high order of departmental efficiency, which we have in sufficient quantity even now and which may in all probabilitybe too much; and probably the real danger ought to be looked for in the direction of the manifestation of a bureaucratic spirit which will be inimical to the prospects of the introduction of a human touch in the management of the industrial machinery. For, what we are out for is the taking into account of the human element in industry and not merely the subordinating of the human being to the machine. And especially should this be the ideal, when we are instituting departments of state for the management of industries, in which at every turn the human being turns up as the predominant factor of production.

With regard to the point about increase in expenditure on these departments, while we are for nationalisation, we are for the immediate nationalization of only such industries as are of prime national importance, of industries which are holding a key position as the means of promoting national efficiency and prosperity, of industries, which on account of their possessing these characteristics, must be capable of bringing profits to the national exchequer and not merely be a drain upon it. Even if the industry is to be newly established, its capacity to yield reasonable profits in return should be an important factor weighing in favour of its being taken under national control and management, though in the beginning it may require a large initial expenditure. But applying the principle inherent in the contracting of public loans for productive purposes and undertakings, the state can and, if necessary, must find the initial capital outlay for the starting of these industries by means of loans, if there is a good prospect of the tax-payer being compensated for his present inconvenience after a time at least.

XII

The main problem of India at present is the problem of the appalling poverty of the people and the main and urgent need is for devising measures for removing the conditions which make for the existence and continuance of that poverty-stricken condition. On the one hand, we have a small class of wealthy people appropriating to themselves the bulk of the national profits and, on the other, there is a very large mass of impoverished people, living from hand to mouth, while there is nothing like an adequate middle class to hold the scales even between them. The problem, therefore, is one of an unequal distribution more than anything else, a problem which can be solved satisfactorily only by the State intervening to restore the equilibrium in every legitimate way. With the State acting as a Manager of Industry and looking after the equitable distribution of the national wealth, there will be lesser and lesser need for it (the State) to expend large sums upon the moral and material advancement of the people, who will, by virtue of their better financial position, be more able to take care of their own welfare; and, at the same time, there will be proportionately less necessity ultimately for resorting to the unpopular methods of levying increased texation for the purposes above mentioned.

If, therefore, in the first place we are to avoid the dangers of an economic order which does not allow a sufficient ideal of distributive justice to enter into its computation and consequently renders life a misery to the many, if, in the second, we are to obviate the dangers of a communistic order with its methods of force, rote and dead uniformity, and if finally we are to evolve an economic order which will bring about greater prosperity for the country and enable it to occupy its due place as an international unit of importance, then a carefully devised and cautiously carried out programme of nationalization of important industries is a desideratum. What is not wanted

and what has go to be guarded against, is the introduction, under the guise of nationalization, of a species of State capitalism; and what is wanted is the modification of the present-day individual capitalism, with its defective and inadequate capacity as an agent for bringing about a better order of distribution and exchange and also of production, as it is being increasingly recognised now-a-days, in comparison with a socialist Republic like Russia, through the process of state action, so that there may be secured a greater equality in the distribution of national wealth, more humane conditions of labour in industrial undertakings, fairer prices for the consumers and the elimination of a trust and combination policy, which, though it might result in more efficient production, very often has the consequence of bringing about unfair distribution, inadequate consumption, and faulty exchange and marketing, in short, efficiency at the expense of human happiness. India needs state initiative in many directions; and the state will therefore have to play its part boldly, efficiently and well, if it is to bring about national prosperity and glory, albeit the fact that some of its policies may be in conflict with the prevailing theories of internationalism and world econony; for it is only when India is economically and industrially advanced to the fullest degree that she can play her rightful part in the determination of world policies.

In conclusion, nationalization, according to the present writer, is not intended to be a bye-word for a degenerate system of state-capitalism but stands for a national programme of advancement through the action of a democratic system of Government based upon the sanctity of popular rights and affording equal opportunities for all to participate in the national Dividend according to their work. It is not a mere utopia that is aimed at; it is well within the reach of practical realisation, provided there is strong popular support for it; but in the process, we have to guard against the dangers of the all too plausible and easily-imbibed doctrines of communism, with their attendant dangers, not the least important among them

being the introduction of a dead level of uniformity at the sword's point, which is not conducive to initiative, effort, original thinking and action and other estimable qualities, which serve to make a nation and a people great.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

AT THE TAZ MAHAL

Hush! Hush! My soul! This cypress gloom,
This ravishing, intoxicating dream,
This stately marble stillness, has for theme
The loveliness of Mumtaz Begum's tomb.
As I stand bewitched by this mosaic bloom,
One thought alone torments my soul—I seem
To picture the rolling hours plot and scheme
To drag it to its downfall and its doom.

But though corroding Time has a special lust
For the beautiful sublime, one thing I swear,
Whether he kiss it with the kiss of rust,
And turn this memorial glory into dust,
Or make it fade and vanish into air,
My captive spirit ever shall be there!

BYRAM K. TALOOKDAR

ON AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

There is a good case for writing one's own life-history: it would be an eye-opener to many. Every man should be compelled to tell his life's story. It does not matter if he tells it ill. Literary craftsmanship is not necessary. It is well, of course, if it is present; but one may dispense with it. An illiterate man is not a bad one to recite his experiences, to tell the bead-roll of the pains and pleasures that fell to his lot in his sojourn through life. Sometimes it draws an additional charm of its own by being rough-and-ready and unalloyed with the doubtful virtue of skilful narration. There is more *truth* in it, at any rate: there is no glossing over discreditable events: there is no attempt to tell a fine tale, with the first person singular always in the forefront: there is no sifting and arranging of material under glittering heads: everything is natural, just as it occurred, with the good and the bad cheek-by-jowl, and, if anything, the bad preponderating. There is a notion that most men's lives are dull and, therefore, are not worth going over with the reader: there is dullness enough in them to weigh the whole universe under. The notion, if it exists, is a wrong one. Life is not full of joy, it is true, and success does not lead on to success in a never-ending chain; happiness is only for the few and all men are not born equal; but when the worst has been said, "when all the wine has been drunk and but the less remain," even then all is not over, a substratum of liveliness is left, and this, added to a little philosophy, makes all the difference, and none is bereft of hope till the very last breath of his life. The lives of the unfortunate, the apparently insignificant, are in fact much more interesting than those of the obviously successful. Ill-luck is not without its own relish. After all, there is no picturesqueness in straight and level road: the beauty belongs to the winding path. Variety is the spice of life: and the unexpected is not less its charm. An un-

successful man's life should be told as well as that of a successful man; a bad man's no less than a good one's. All are equally full of instruction. And, after all, who knows but that the so-called useless man of to-day may not be the idol of that final and most impartial judge of real merit—posterity? Have we not heard instances of such a thing having happened before? And what is there to prevent its happening hereafter?

Autobiography need not be in a set-form: it need not be confined to a single vehicle of expression: it can reveal itself, like Providence, in a variety of ways. There is scope for personal touches even in fiction; and though they may not be complete, they are enough to satisfy the curiosity of the reader and supply him with material to form a reasonable judgment of the another. After all, whatever a man's external accomplishments may be, it is his inner self that gives the key to his real estimate. The two are not separate entities but run into each other imperceptibly: it is as if they were tethered in neighbouring stalls and a kick would, at any time, bring down the partition. Even in the most public acts, one's inner life is reflected. I do not mean, however, that a man's public life should be judged by his private life; what is suggested is that where his outward self alone is not sufficient to explain his actions, recourse should be had to his inner life, whenever and wherever this can be reasonably probed, to supply the data. It is just here where autobiography becomes useful, where it bears a revealing light. A man's history, in the best of circumstances, cannot be all in all: the most it can do is to supplement what otherwise may be but a meagre estimate.

In a man's letters also we can pierce through the veil of his being: it is here, anywhere, that he drops off the dress-coat of conventional life and appears *en déshabillé*; he is here himself, with all his vices and virtues in bold relief. He cares not for any audience, for applause from the pit and stalls, nor does he appeal to the gallery in a last desperate attempt at mock-shows and make-believe. He is not talking at posterity.

He is communing with an intimate, a friend in his retreat to whom he may whisper "solitude is sweet." It is a case of mind opening on to mind and heart talking to heart. There are no intimacies so private that he does not divulge to his friend: he is curiously frank and is in his most natural vein: his soul, he shows, is still a child by the sea, picking up shells: in fine, he is in his most primæval and aboriginal element. Most men, when the outer layer of affectation is removed, are simple at heart: their souls are fair,

"Bright as the children of yon azure sheen."

It is because they are not often allowed to be free, or when they are free they are so woefully misunderstood, that they appear so complex: and habit makes them inured to this their prison-house, where the sky is turned upon the free play of their buoyant spirits: they even appear comfortable in such a restricted environment, like

"The linnet born within the cage
That never knew the summer woods."

There is yet another way of pulling aside the curtain just a little and exhibiting the rare show of man's private and inner life. A man, unless he is born dumb, reveals himself, be it never so slightly, in conversation—"that great international congress," as Stevenson calls it.

"In short says he the first duty of a man is to speak; that is his chief business in the world; and talk, which is the harmonious speech of two or more, is by far the most accessible of pleasures. It costs nothing in money; it is all profit; it completes our education, finds and fosters our friendship, and can be enjoyed at any age and in almost any state of health."

For perfect conversation the company must be limited. It must be conducted only among intimates. If authenticated reports of some men's conversation could be had, they would shed a flood of light upon their real selves. Dr. Johnson, for

example, is known more by reports of his conversation, faithfully conveyed through the medium of Boswell's admiring pen, than by all his books put together. Good talkers are unfortunately rare, and even of these we know not all. Hazlitt was an excellent talker, and so was Charles Lamb. We know the latter more and love him the better because of reports of his talks and personal characteristics that have come down to us from his friends. It is an irreparable misfortune that we have not been rewarded by similar reports of Hazlitt's powers: Hazlitt that was as fine, if not a finer, talker than Lamb himself. Hazlitt both loved good talk and was an excellent hand at the game himself. His brilliant descriptions of his friends' conversational abilities are unforgettable:

"Wordsworth sometimes talks like a man inspired on subjects of poetry (his own out of the question)—Coleridge well on every subject and Godwin on none. Mrs. Montague's conversation is as fine-cut as her features and I like to sit in the room with the sort of coronet face. What she says leaves a flavour, like fine green tea. Hunt's is like champagne and Northcot's like anchovy sandwiches. Haydon's is like a game at trap-ball, Lamb's like snap-dragon; and my own (if I do not mistake the matter) is not much unlike a game at nine-pins."

Hazlitt was one of the most irremediably unfortunate people that ever existed: he was not judged fairly in his life-time, and even now people are loth to give him his due. The conjecture is not highly fanciful that if portraits of the man as he revealed himself in conversation to his favourite friends, among whom Lamb was foremost, had come down to us, the world would have been less harsh in his estimate of him.

After all, a man is known by his small actions no less than by his great ones: he is the sum of all that he is daily and not merely what he is at rare and inspired moments. He must be judged not only by the peaks of his achievements but also by the depths of his degradation; and the truth, no doubt, would lie somewhere in the middle. There is a good deal to be said for keeping a private journal and for recording passing thoughts. Pepys did a great thing when he gave posterity

Tibet, but they also spent a considerable time of it on the coasts of the Manas-Sarowar. What Geographical details they published (1717 A. D.) of this region are indeed a fairly faithful account of this part of the country. The name of the Brahmaputra does not appear in the list of rivers which they have shown as flowing from the Manas-Sarowar. Among the Europeans the map of D'Anville which again based itself on the account of these Lamas is the first authentic account of Tibet—at least of this region; and for the next one century and a half no better map of this part was ever prepared.

Next to D'Anville comes the map of Tiffenthaler, a Jesuit Father (1743 A.D.). Tiffenthaler has made an honest confession that he had no personal knowledge on the subject; probably his map was more or less a copy from the map which the Emperor Akbar got prepared (end of the 16th century). In Tiffenthaler's account the Brahmaputra has been shown to have come out of the Manas-Sarowar. Tiffenthaler's map and the connected accounts were published by Anquetil.

Anquetil studied the map of D'Anville also. According to Anquetil the Brahmaputra is identical with the Tsangpo and in full agreement with Tiffenthaler he indicates Manas-Sarowar to be the source of the Brahmaputra. But in reality it is a matter of surprise as to how the Brahmaputra can be shown to have its source in the Manas-Sarowar; because all were of one opinion that Manas-Sarowar had connection with only one stream on its eastern bank and it was also well-known to every body that this stream flowed into the Manas-Sarowar and not that it flowed out from the Manas-Sarowar. So it seems probable that the men deputed by Akbar actually met one stream here while out on exploration but forgot the direction of its actual flow when they were away from the place and preparing the map. Apart from other probable causes it may be guessed that they had one argument for giving them a bias to call Manas-Sarowar as the source of the Brahmaputra—particularly if the explorers happened to be Hindus. According to legends in the

Skanda Purana Manas-Sarowar evolved from the Manas or will of Brahma, the Creator of the Hindu mythology; so the Brahmaputra (literally the son of Brahma) must necessarily have its origin in the Manas-Sarowar.

About half of this great river, the Brahmaputra flows over the provinces of Assam and Bengal in the plains of India, the other half lies in Tibet where it is known under the name of Tsangpo and flows from the West to the East. The Tsangpo is the principal river of Tibet and it is the valley of this river that comprises everything that is of any importance in the country—its trade and commerce, its culture and civilisation. On its bank lies Lhasa (9,341 ft.), the capital of Tibet and the seat of the Dalai Lama (29° 40′ N. L. and 91° E. L.). The seat of the Tashi Lama is another town by name Shigatse (12,850 ft.) which lies at a short distance from this river about 150 miles to the west from Lhasa—29° 15′ N. L. and 89° E. L. At about 55 miles to the west of Shigatse a stream comes from the North and meets the Tsangpo—this is Raga Tsangpo, about 130 miles in length. This junction is at an elevation of 13,116 ft.; from this point another 330 miles to the West there is another junction (15,410 ft.) at Shamsang. From Shamsang down to a certain distance that is towards the East the river is known as Martsang Tsangpo. Many streams from the North and from the South have come down to the Tsangpo but up to Shamsang the Tsangpo is incontestably the main stream. But even up till recent times it was an open question as to which might really be the main stream beyond Shamsang that is towards the West.

In 1865 an Indian by name Nain Singh came to the wertern part of the valley of the Tsangpo under the employ of Col. Montgomerie. He crossed the pass of Marium La lying to the North-West of Shamsang and proceeded westward. About the source of the Brahmaputra he expressed that it must be traced somewhere among the high mountain ranges seen to the South.

Another gentleman by name Thomas Webber came here in 1866. His route lay a little to the South of that of Nain Singh; so that it had to go across certain feeders of the Brahmaputra. But he could not give any information about the source of the main river.

In 1904 came a government expendition under Rawling; their destination was Gartok, an important town in Western Tibet. As a result of this expedition a very beautiful map of the valley of the Upper Brahmaputra was prepared. This expedition also followed the same route and over the Marium La pass proceeded towards Manas-Sarowar. So that as in Nain Singh's case the source of the Brahmaputra lay about 40 miles to the South of the route of this expedition also. It was Major Ryder of this expedition in whose map (1904) the Chema-Yundung was shown as the main stream of the Brahmaputra.

The main source of the Brahmaputra was however discovered by Dr. Sven Hedin, a Swedish explorer of great repute. He came well-equipped with all the scientific apparatus and instruments necessary for the purpose. He arrived at Shamsang on July 8, 1907 and found that the aforesaid Martsang Tsangpo was comprised of two streams which met here—the Chema-Yundung and Kubi Tsangpo. With a view to find out as to which of these two streams was the main stream he commenced measuring the yield of water of each of these two streams. He found the yield of the Martsang Tsangpo to be 1554 cubic ft. per second and that of the Chema-Yundung 353 cubic ft; so that the yield of the Kubi Tsangpo was 1201 c. ft. (1554-353). Again about eight miles farther off from Shamsang the Chema-Yundung was fed by another stream by the name of the Marium Chu, so that the yield of 353 c. ft. of the Chema Yundung at Shamsang was really comprised of two streams. Thus the Kubi Tsangpo greatly excelling each of these may without doubt be taken as the main stream. Besides this Dr. Hedin also ascertained by local investigation that the people of the locality

without caring for any scientific knowledge know the Kubi Tsangpo as the upper stream of the Martsang Tsangpo.

It appears from the map of Dr. Hedin that he did not actually follow the route of the Kubi Tsangpo from Shamsang. He proceeded for about 15 miles along the course of the Chema Yundung and then turning round towards the south-west proceeded for another ten miles and reached a small pass by the name of Tso-Niti-Kar-gong. The distance of this place from Shamsang would be about 12 miles in a straight line. The mountain range over which there is this pass is the water-shed between the Kubi and the Chema Yungdung. The route after Tso-Niti-Kar-gong lies along the course of the Kubi Tsangpo. Here the water of the Kubi is very muddy, but there is a small lake, Lhayak by name on the right bank of the stream whose water is very clear. The place commands a very excellent sight all round. Towards the north at some distance there are ranges of high mountains. Innumerable small streams are running down from these mountains and flowing to the Tsangpo. The sight towards the south is even more striking. Ranges of high hills there are already—in places these are covered over with snow from which there are glaciers creeping down.

Among these ranges to the south the name of Ngomo-Dingding is worth special mention. The glacier from this mountain adds greatly to the flow of the Kubi Tsangpo. There is another glacier equally as important which comes down from Dongdong, a mountain range to the South West.

To the North of Dongdong there is Chema-Yundung-Pu (21,450 ft.) this mountain is the source of the Chema-Yundung. From the Lhayak lake these snow ranges seem to be very near indeed they are not very far off winthin 10, 12 or 15 miles. Beyond Lhayak the course of the stream is interspersed with a few islands resulting in the main stream being divided into several small streams. About 5 or 6 miles after Lhayak a small stream the Eong-dong-Chu —has flowed down from the Dongdong range and met the Kubi Tsangpo on its left bank. A little

beyond this also on the left bank there is a small lake Tso-Chang-tso. From here the valley is gradually widening. Here the ground also is not wholly rocky here and there appear patches of grass also. The stream after gradually gaining in breadth has taken the appearance of a lake ; the elevation of the place is about 15,889 ft. Here on the west bank of the Kubi Tsangpo there are found clear traces of a large glacier that flowed by sometime. Here there are found pebbles here and there and the growth of flowers and shrubs give it a colour of spring tide to the place once a year. On the marshy low lands of the valley there are plenty of grass and on the bosom of the lake are heard the cackling notes of the wild geese—these also remind one of the spring time. Sometime herds of wild yaks may also be met with.

To the west of the Kubi Tsangpo there is a mountain range of comparatively low altitude over which there are patches of snow here and there which are melting down by the heat of the season. The ground at the foot of the hill is very much of a level character. A small stream coming down from the upper hill has formed into a lake on this level ground.

From here among the snowy ranges from the south-west to the south-east nine very high mountain peaks are visible if they are not enveloped in clouds ; this whole group is known by the name of Kubi-Gangri. To one facing the South from here there appears Mount Ngomo-ding-ding at 27° to the east and Mount Absi at 11° to the east. Between these two is the Glacier of Ngomo-ding-ding. To the west of Mount Apsi is the Apsi Glacier. Further west (24° to the west) there is the highest ridge of the Mukchung-Simo mountain group. At 57° to the west there are four mountain peaks, of these two are entirely composed of snow and ice and have a domelike appearance ; these belong to the Langta-chen group. The snow and ice from these mountains greatly reinforces the main Brahmaputra Glacier. At 70°, 83° and 88° to the west there are the peaks of the Gaveting mountains. To the north at 55° West there are three peaks

of the Dong-dong mountain ; from here issues the Dong-dong-chu river mentioned before. Towards the north-east the Kubi velley has gradually come down to a certain extent. At a distance the peaks of the Chantang mountain seem to be blended with the snow-scape on the horizon.

From here all around particularly from the south-west to the south-east there is a great variety of scenery ; range after range of mountains, peaks of different sizes and appearances like a dome, a pillar or a pyramid, tracks and traces of old and extinct glaciers, the routes of living glaciers and streams running out of them, extent of snow and ice fields. All these have combined to frame out a scenery which in its wild grandeur would hardly be surpassed by any other.

From the side of Gaveting between the Gaveting and the Langta-Chen mountains to the west has issued out a great glacier in Dr. Hedin's map, this has been shown as the Brahmaputra Glacier. The stream that has issued out of this Glacier is the biggest of all here ; none of the other streams that have issued out of the Kubi Gangri mountains can compare with this. So this stream from the Brahmaputra Glacier is the main stream of the Kubi Tsangpo. Thus here we find the source of the Brahmaputra at 82°20′ E.L. and 30°20′ N.L. at an altitude of 15,968 ft.

Of course it goes without saying that a grand river like the Brahmaputra cannot grow out of one stream or even from one glacier. Hundreds of streams issuing from the mountain ranges mentioned above have directly or indirectly added to the strength of the Kubi Tsangpo ; the streams from the mountains on either sides of the Kubi Valley have also added to its flow. Thereafter bigger streams like the Chema Yundung and the Marium Chu have flowed down to the Kubi Tsangpo and thus enabled it to proceed on its onward flow through different provinces and countries under the name of the Brahmaputra.

It has been shown above that the Tsangpo has its source mainly in a glacier. The flow is enriched by the melting in the

summer season of the snow that falls on these mountains in the winter. In these regions the rainfall is very scanty and so the stream gets a low proportion of water supply from rains. But in the lower course the Tsangpo gets a copious supply from rains and the influence of ice and snow is very small. Owing to these accounts there grows a wide difference in the volume of the flow due to different seasons but this difference is not so keen in the lower regions.

In our attempts to trace out the source of the Brahmaputra we have so far accepted the Tsangpo as the upper course of the Brahmaputra of India. Let us now see how far it conforms to facts and reason. The best way to trace out the source of a river is to proceed upwards along its course. But this has not been possible in the case of the Brahmaputra, because beyond Dibrugarh in Assam no body could proceed farther owing to the interception of the Abors and other uncivilised tribes on the way. On the other side of the Himalaya again the Tibetans have always attempted to keep out all foreigners from entering into their land. So there has been no opportunity of an expedition from that side also. The Tibetans themselves have no knowledge about the final development of their great river—the Tsangpo. There is a belief and a tradition amongst them that the course of the Tsangpo has ultimately ended somewhere by entering into the bowels of the earth. The region round about this place is inhabited by wild people who keep naked and subsist on the flesh of monkeys, reptiles, etc. It is also said of them that these people are horned beings and amongst them the mothers do not know their own children.

Not to speak of laymen, even among the Geographers even up to recent times were in doubt as to whether the Tsangpo had flowed down to India as the Brahmaputra or flowed over Burma as the Irrawady.

Many among the European explorers attempted to follow the course of the Tsangpo but had to desist from it owing to interception by the wild tribes inhabiting those regions. Capt.

Harman once engaged a man on this errand. This man was a Tibetan by name Kintoop ; he was well conversant with these affairs and his name found mention in the reports of the Survey of India. Kintoop was really a short of genius in this line of work and by overcoming many obstacles he proceeded very far on the way. When his utmost efforts failed to achieve for him any farther progress he according to previous arrangements threw into the stream of the Tsangpo five hundred pieces of wood specially prepared for the purpose—these were each a foot long and well marked for identification. It was arranged that after throwing them into the Tsangpo watch would be kept at Dibrugarh in Assam to trace them in the stream of the Brahmaputra ; it was taken for granted that if the Tsangpo were really identical with the Brahmaputra then at least a few of the logs of wood thrown into the Tsangpo must flow down by the Brahmaputra. But unfortunately before arrangements were actually organised at Dibrugarh Capt. Harman died of frost bite and everything was lost. This expedition of Kintoop has found a mention in the reports of the Survey of India.

The Tibet Mission deputed by Lord Curzon after having finished their affairs in Lhasa proposed to send a Geographical expedition down along the course of the Tsangpo ; all preparations were also made but eventually the proposal was not sanctioned by the Government.

After that we had no knowledge if the identity of the two streams was established beyond doubt and if so how. With a view to an enquiry on the point I wrote to Dr. Sven Hedin of Sweden who it was that actually discovered the source of the Tsangpo and in reply he told me that the identity of the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had heen proved beyond doubt. But having been unable to trace the "How" of it I addressed my enquiries to the Survey of India and the Royal Geographical Society of London. Both of these authorities told me with one voice that the two rivers are identical. The Royal Geographical Society informed me that the establishment of the identity of

the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had been on the result of the gradual labours of the various members of the Survey of India and that the journeys of Capt. Bailey and Capt. Morshead (1912.13) put it beyond doubt. On my attempting to get more elaborate information and a detailed account I made references to the Survey of India ; but I was told in reply that such details are only available in the many confidential records and reports which are not for issue to the public. But they gave me to know in definite terms that the identity of the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had been established beyond doubt by the journeys of Capt. Baily and Capt. Morshead. So that the source of the Tsangpo as traced by Dr. Hedin of Sweden may be accepted as the source of the Brahmaputra.

SATYA BHUSAN SEN

ŚAṀKARA ON VIVARTAVĀDA

Roughly speaking the philosophers of India may be divided into two classes :—the Satkāryavādī and the Asatkāryavādī. Literally, satkāryavāda means that the effect existed in the material cause prior to its production, and asatkāryavāda denies this previous existence of the effect in its material cause. In our experience of causation we find two things, *viz.*, the same cause always produces the same effect, and secondly, that the effect is posterior to the cause. The satkāryavādī, putting emphasis on the first, thinks that the reason of the same cause producing the same effect is that the effect resides in his cause in some mysterious way. The asatkāryavādī, in his turn, gives equal prominence to the succession of effect, and consider it to be the soul of causation. This does not mean that the satkāryavādī denies succession, and the asatkāryavadī denies the production of same effect from the same cause; and as a matter of fact the former accepts succession and the latter accepts homogeneity of cause and effect. The difference lies in the emphasis given on the respective points noted above.

The followers of the Sāṁkhya-yoga and the Vedānta are known as satkāryavādī, and the Buddhist and the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas are called asatkāryavādī. In order to understand the position held by Śaṁkara, we should briefly discuss the doctrines held by all these schools. We shall begin with the asatkāryavādīs.

1. *Buddhist and Nyāya-vaiśeṣika Position—their Difference.*

When a pot is produced from clay, the pot is posterior to clay; and, as language assumes, the pot was in clay. The asatkāryavādī denies this as an unnecessary assumption and thinks

that causation is but one kind of succession. The Buddhists are of opinion that the effect is an entirely new thing having no relation with the cause except an well-ordered succession (abinābhāva). The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas also hold that what experience teaches is that a certain effect follows a certain cause, and nowhere we experience any potential existence of the effect in the cause. Earth is by nature such that it can assume such and such a form, and there is a stick which can fashion it in such and such a way : and such earth fashioned by such a stick is ghaṭa, and this ghaṭa is a new thing.[1] The Nyāya definition of cause as "anyathā-siddhi-śūnyasya niyatapurvavartītā," like the Buddhist doctrine of Pratītyasamutpāda, emphasises the succession of cause and effect, and does not admit that the effect had any existence in its cause.

The Nyāya-vaiśeṣika agrees with the Buddhist so far, but there is an important difference between them. Though both of them agree in the non-existence of effect in the cause, yet the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas have taken exception to the Buddhist position that the effect comes out of nothing. Against the Buddhist theory that "a plant is not born without destroying its seed," the Naiyāyikas offer the following dilemma : "If the plant is not prior to the seed, it cannot destroy the seed; and if it is prior to the seed why should it destroy the seed for its existence?" [2] for it has already got existence. Śaṁkara Miśra in his commentary on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra says that the very fact that there cannot rise any effect unless there is a definite material cause shows that the effect does not come out of the void "for in that case there would have been non-existence of plant owing to the non-existence of stone though there were seed from which plant might grow." [3] The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, thus, require a definite substratum for causation while the Buddhists do not. Though both the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas

Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I.
Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya, 4. 1. 15.
Com. to 1. 2. 1.

and the Buddhists admit that earth is unavoidable for ghaṭa, yet the difference consists in this: for the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, earth is the substratum, the upādāna of ghaṭa; while for the Buddhist it is merely a fact antecedent.

The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, however, gain nothing by saying that the material cause of ghaṭa is earth, denying at the same time that ghaṭa has existence in earth. If ghaṭa was non-existent in earth, it is tantamount to the Buddhist position of absolute organisation quite independent of what the Nyāya calls material cause. The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas try to strike a middle path between Buddhist asatkāryavāda on the one hand, and Śāṁkhya-vedānta satkāryavāda on the other, with a leaning towards the former; and this halting attitude of the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas has called forth the remark from Śaṁkara that they are Semi-nihilists (arddha-vaināśika). Whatever may be the difference between these two schools of asatkāryavādīs, so far as a satkāryavādī is concerned, both of them are considered to be on the same boat. We shall revert to this point later on.

2. *Sāṁkhya and Vedānta Position.*

The Sāṁkhya and the Vedānta agree with the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas regarding the necessity of a material cause. But the part playedby this material cause is different, the former two insisting on the potential existence of the effect in the cause. They draw our attention to one fact in causation, *viz.*, that the same effect is always produced from the same material cause. Objection may be taken from the asatkāryavādī standpoint as to the implication contained in '*from*,' but the satkāryavādī thinks that this implication is a fact. The homogeneity of cause and effect, that ghaṭa can only be produced from earth and paṭa from thread, the satkāryavādī thinks, points to the potential existence of ghaṭa and paṭa in their respective material causes. If this

potential existence is denied the problem is how to explain this unflinching homogeneity of cause and effect. So far as Logic is concerned there is no trouble with regard to the Buddhist or the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika position, for whether the effect exists n the cause or not, neither the satkāryavādī nor the asatkāryavādī ever denies the "well-ordered succession" between cause and effect. The task of Logic is to discover this "well-ordered succession," and if it succeeds in it, its function is fulfilled. But if we enquire into the *raison d'être* of this well-ordered succession, which the Naiyāyaikas and the Buddhists discover by their respective inductive methods, they have nothing to say except that it is what we find in nature. This however is no reply, but merely pushing the problem back, for we may ask them to explain why we find such well-ordered succession in nature. For the satkāryavādīs this has enough significance, and they think that the term '*from*' is not due to an "imaginary connection," as Hume would say, but a fact. "If ghaṭa comes from clay, and from nothing but clay, it shows that it existed somehow in clay, otherwise why should it come only from clay and not from milk?"[1]—asks Śaṁkara. The language of Śaṁkara, when he says that 'ghaṭa comes from clay,' may be rightly criticised as begging the whole question at issue, for the problem is just to decide whether ghaṭa comes *from* elay, and the conclusion 'ghaṭa must have existed in clay' may, with equal justification, be pronounced as a tautology, for 'coming from clay' is the same as 'previous existence in clay'; but in spite of this terminological inaccuracy, the statement gives us the *raison d'être* of the well-ordered succession of cause and effect.

Śaṁkara and Vijñānabhikṣu have tried to prove their point by *reductio ad absurdum* of asatkāryavāda. If the asatkārya theory is right there is no way of determining the causal

[1] Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 3. 1.

sequence. Ghaṭa, *ex hypothesi,* does not exist in clay, and it is also non-existent in any other thing. The problem for the asatkāryavādī is to give us the reason of the well-ordered succession, *e.g.*, of clay and ghaṭa on the one hand, and milk and butter on the other. One may deny that ghaṭa necessarily succeeds clay, and butter necessarily succeeds milk even when all the other conditions are fulfilled. "If before birth all things are equally non-existent in everything, why should curd be produced from milk and not from clay also; and ghaṭa from clay only and not from milk also," enquires Śaṁkara.[1] "The rule regarding upādānakāraṇa that ghaṭa comes only from clay, and paṭa from thread," says Vijñānabhikṣu "is impossible according to asatkāryavāda."[2] The *raison d'être* of the well-ordered succession being denied, it is futile to expect well-ordered succession. All the five Nyāya canons of Induction and the Buddhist method of Pañcakaraṇī, however much their value be as logical canons, cannot help them in explaining the well-ordered succession. The Nyāya and the Buddhist canons—all of them—must assume that there is a determined relation (vyāpti) between the cause and effect, and then set to work with the stray facts with a view to finding out the vyāpti. They assume the universal connection but cannot prove it. To say that such is the nature of things that cause and effect are determined is to go back to the discussion we had in the paragraph just preceding and to encounter the question: Why are they so determined? The asatkāryavādī has no reply to offer, but the satkāryavadī will say: Because the effect was in the cause.

3. *Necessary Connection and Vyāpti.*

If we mark the above arguments of Śaṁkara and Vijñānabhikṣu, we shall find that they accept the existence of a "neces-

[1] Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya. 2.1.8.

[2] Sāṁkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya, 1.115.

sary connection'' between the cause and the effect. Exception has been taken to such ''necessary connection'' by European Empiricists like Hume and Mill and also by the Cārvākas on the ground that it is only a fiction of imagination, the truth about causation being regularity of succession. ''Regularity of succession'', according to Hume, has been mistaken for ''necessary connection.'' He makes a distinction between 'conjoined' and 'connected' and thinks that what our experience shows is that cause and effect are only 'conjoined' but not 'connected,' and that owing to force of habit we mistake ''connected' 'conjoined' for. This position of Hume is not without its justification. In our experience there is nothing to show that there exists a necessary connection between the cause and effect, for it is more than once we are astonished to see that what we call cause or effect are not really so : nor is it once or twice that we fail to ascertain cause or effect of things. Had it not been the case, there would have been no necessity of ascertaining them by what we call ''methods of Induction.'' Even certain conclusions, arrived at after careful and elaborate use of these methods, are sometimes found to be false. Induction has this inherent defect that we can never be certain of its conclusion, for the past and the future can never be examined. Induction is, as Russell says, ''only probable.'' It may be practically certain, but from theoretical standpoint the best of induction may be credited only with a high degree of probability. But inspite of these, there is no reason for rejecting the possibility of Induction altogether, for, as Russell further observes, though we cannot prove that the same effect will always follow from the same cause, we cannot disprove it either. That our iuductive results are not perfect—this is itself an induction.[1] ''If there be one who denies the possibility of Induction,'' says none other than the Buddhists themselves in reply to the Cārvāka criticism of Induction, '' he is to be asked : Have you no middle term (sādhana) in saying that inference is not possible, or have

[1] Problems of Philosophy. pp. 103-6.

you any? If you have none, it will prove nothing, for a mere statement proves nothing. If you have, then in denying inference you contradict yourself as in calling yourself a barren mother's son".[1] Vācaspati also observes that those who deny vyāpti, accept it indirectly. The proposition that vyāpti cannot be known, cannot certainly be observed with the senses, and hence it is inferred through vyāpti. Our theoretical inability to prove the correctness of induction does not depend upon the impossibility of vyāpti itself, but upon our inability to discover it. This theoretical difficulty will disappear with the introduction of the perfect inductive method. So if we cannot disprove induction, and if its defects are only due to our inability, one should admit the possibility of vyāpti with this reservation that we have no perfect method of ascertaining it at our disposal. That we cannot ascertain it, is due to our inability ; and to discover the methods of ascertaining it is a task for Logic. But for metaphysics this possibility of correct induction proves satkāryavāda, and such a possibility is accepted by the Nyāya and the Buddhists alike. Unless the effect exists in the cause there is no reason, as we have seen before, why there should be well-ordered succession between the cause and the effect. If we add together the idea of regular succession with the conception of pre-existence of the effect in the cause, we get what we call necessary connection. When the satkāryavādis argue the pre-existence of the effect in the cause on the strength of the necessary connection, they stand on this possibility of vyāpti, and accept necessary connection as its presupposition ; and then analysing necessary connection, they show that it involves pre-existence of effect in the cause.

4. *The Real Meaning of Necessary Connection.*

Necessary connection, when taken in its usual meaning, does not seem to be satisfactory. It takes the cause and the

[1] Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha, Ch. II.

effect to be separate units though bound in such a way that one cannot leave the other. The cause and the effect, if taken as two different units, cease to have any meaning. It may appear at the first sight that the cause and the effect are either separate or identical there being no third alternative. The Empiricists and the Buddhists accept the former frankly and the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, as we saw, admit it by implication. The satkāryavādīs, expecting to find the effect in the cause, seem to hold them to be identical. Certainly the effect is not concealed in the cause as an article of use is concealed in a box, nor does the satkāryavādī say that; and if so, the effect is not a particular part of the cause, but the whole of it, or, in other words, it is identical. Taking the first position, if two things A and B are designated as cause and effect, what necessary connection can there be between them? A, B, C, D, E, F, are all equally separate, and there is no reason why there should be any such definite pairs as A-B, C-D, E-F and not A-C, C-E, D-F etc., as well. Hume and Mill are perfectly justified if they refuse to admit any necessary connection between things that are, *exhypothesi*, unconnected. The difficulty of holding the second alternative is no less. Identity of cause and the effect leaves no room for differentiating between the two, and consequently there can be no connection between them. And to add to it, without any difference between the cause and the effect, succession and novelty become impossible. No artificial tie between two separate terms, A and B, is strong enough to be called 'necessary,' and so we require an internal or inherent tie which the very nature of the two things will supply; nor can we conceive a one-termed relation as in the case of identity between the cause and the effect, and so we require two terms. Our problem is, thus, to find out how two terms may be separate and yet internally connected, so that by the former we shall distinguish between the cause and the effect, and by the latter we shall hold them together. A *via media* may be suggested that causation is not A-B, but A-A′ in which the

material cause (A) suffers a change of form (A′) merely. Taken in this meaning, we have the advantage of both separateness and identity. A and A′ occur in different time, and hence they are successive; they are of different forms and hence there is novelty in A′; they are of the identical material stuff, and hence there is homogeneity. The different forms supply us with the two terms, and the identical material stuff gives us the internal connection. Cause and effect are neither entirely separate nor absolutely identical—they are separate in form and identical in material. Necessary connection, thus, turns out to be not a connection between two separate things, but between the two stages of the same material. Our discursive intellect creates two things (A, B) out of what are actually two stages of the same thing (A, A′), and then finds itself at a loss to bridge this artificial gulf, though engulf it it must. Satkāryavāda accommodates both the difference between the cause and the effect, and their identity, and when they say that the effect pre-existed in the cause they mean this identity of material stuff.

5. *Prāgabhāva cannot explain Causation.*

We have noticed the Buddhist theory that "a plant cannot grow without destroying its seed," together with the Nyāya objection to it which has been put by Vātsyāyana in the form of a dilemma quoted before. Though Vātsyāyana tried to disprove the Buddhist position in order to establish the necessity of material cause, yet the Nyāya theory actually amounts to the rejection of material cause, and the acceptance of the Buddhist position. A is the material cause of B. In producing B, A does not continue to live in B, for B is entirely new; or in other words, A ceases to exist. And B, it being non-existent in A, has nothing to do with A. This is the Buddhist position which denies even the necessity of material cause, and holds pratītyasamut-

pāda. There is absolutely no certainty in causation, anything may follow anything, and anything may precede anything; or, in other words, if we accept it, complete chaos should prevail even now, and cosmos should never come out of it. Such a state of affairs is, however, not theoretically tenable as we have seen before, nor does our practical experience support it.

The Nyāya-vaiśesikas have tried to avoid the difficulty by devising prāgabhāva,—that ghaṭa is produced from earth because there is the prāgabhāva of ghaṭa in clay. This, however, does not make their position better in any way. The distinction among the different kinds of abhābas enumerated by Nyāya-vaiśeṣika rests upon psychological basis, and nothing in actuality corresponds to them. Thus, the difference between prāgabhāva (prior non-existence) and pradhvaṁsābhāva (posterior non-existence) of ghaṭa is made with reference to our knowledge ghaṭa. The ghaṭa *was not* (prāgabhāva), ghaṭa *is* (bhāva), ghaṭa is broken and therefore *is not* (pradhvaṁsābhāva). Prior non-existence is before our knowledge of ghaṭa, and posterior non-existence is after our knowledge of ghaṭa. Is there any intrinsic difference between them? And as a matter of fact, is there any intrinsic difference among the different 'abhāvas' ? This is what Śaṁkara and Vijñānabhikṣu ask. The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas will, of course, deny the suggestion that there is no intrinsic difference between them, for by doing so they lose the significance of prāgabhāva which has been introduced as a reply to the previous difficulty. But the difficulty in admitting any distinction among them is no less. "If you admit that there are different kinds of abhāvas," says Vijñānabhikṣu, "then your abhāvas turn out to be bhāvas."[1] Differentiation is always by characteristics and characteristics always belong to existing things, so that non-existence having characteristics is virtually an existing thing, or as Śaṁkara puts it "abhāvas having characteristics are as much bhāvas as

[1] Saṁkhya-Pravacana-Bhāṣya, 1, 115.

lotus etc."[1] Ghaṭaprāgabhāva is certainly different from paṭaprāgabhāva, otherwise there is no necessity in qualifying prāgabhāva with ghaṭa and pata respectively. Ghaṭaprāgabhāva has some characteristics by which it can be differentiated from other abhāvas (*e.g.* pradhvaṁsābhāva) and also from other prāgabhāvas (*e.g.* paṭaprāgabhāva), and in that case it turns out to be bhāva.[2]

The Buddhist pratītyasamutpāda and the Empiricists' mere succession, frankly denying material cause, makes causal succession, a succession of abhāva and bhāva and brings a chaos of causation; we have also seen that the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, though they accept the material cause, yet by denying the existence of the effect therein, they virtually hold the Buddhist and the Empiricist position; and also that by their introduction of prāgabhāva to meet the difficulty they cannot save their theory from criticism. Prāgabhava, being virtually bhāva, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas become satkāryavādī.

6. *Novelty in the Effect—Manifestation of the Un-manifested.*

Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas have tried to disprove satkāryavāda by putting emphasis on the novelty of the effect. They have tried to show the difference between the cause and the effect by drawing attention to several distinctive features between them. Ghaṭa, for instance, is apprehended by us as separate from earth as there is a difference between the idea of ghaṭa and that of earth. Ghaṭa is different from paṭa because the respective ideas are different, and applying this to ghaṭa and earth,

[1] Brahmasūtra Bhaṣya, 2.2.26.

[2] Prāgabhāva is, thus, not abhāva but bhāva, so that we may put prāgbhāva (prior existence) instead of prāgabhāva (prior non-existence), the negation '*a*' being omitted. Prāgabhāva, according to the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, resides in the material cause and determines the causal sequence of clay from earth. This prāgabhāva being virtually a bhāva, we may change the expression and say that there is something in the material cause which determines the succession of a particular effect from a particular cause, and this is exactly the satkāryavādi position.

they hold that ghaṭa is different from earth. Another reason for our distinguishing between things is the difference of effect they produce as between milk and rice ; similarly, the difference of effect of milk and curd on human body being different, they should be taken as two. We also differentiate between things on the ground of their time of occurrence, as the ghaṭa made to-day and yesterday ; similarly, the cause is prior in existence and the effect posterior, and as such they are different.[1] The cause and the effect being, thus, different, they think that the former cannot contain the latter.

True as these are, the satkāryavādīs do not deny them. They are not blind to the novelty of effect, for in that case they would not have differentiated between cause and effect. The very problem of satkāryavāda depends upon this differentiation, and differentiation is possible only if the effect is somewhat novel. The universe before our eye is evolving and evolving, and each successive stage of this long chain of causation is new. Apart from scientific data like the evolution of man from ascidian, or that of this present world with its infinite variety of man, animal and plant from the fiery nebular mass, we see before us the development of the huge tree from the tiny seed, of the full-grown man from the prattling child, and a multitude of such cases. To an ordinary man they present no problem but to a philosopher they offer a problem too hard to be cracked easily. Asatkāryavādīs, impressed with the newness of the effect, have tried to assign a distinct existence to it; while satkāryavādīs, troubled with the problem as to how a thing can be a cause without containing the effect, and at the same time embarrassed with the novelty of the effect, tried to solve it by holding the mysterious existence of the effect in the cause.

If we take satkāryavāda, in the sense that the effect resides bodily in the cause, then, of course, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika

[1] Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 97.

objection based on the newness of the effect becomes incontrovertible. "The mind can never possibly find the effect in the supposed cause," says Hume, "by the most accurate scrutiny and examination." [1] If Hume means that we cannot perceive the effect bodily in the cause by our sense, he is right, but satkāryavādīs do not hold any such opinion. "We *infer* the existence of the effect," says Śaṁkara "since the effect is where the cause is, and where the cause is not, the effect is not." [2] Vijñānabhikṣu also says that "since we cannot otherwise account for the effect we *infer* that it existed in the cause in a subtle state." [3] Satkāryavāda is not, and cannot, be proved by experience, as the term sukṣma or potential, as opposed to vyakta or actual, clearly shows, but it has to be accepted in order to explain regular succession. The Nyāya-vaiśeṣika supposition of prāgabhāva was introduced to explain the regularity of causal succession. Like the pre-existence of effect prāgabhāva is also not a fact of the experience. Satkārya or pre-existence of effect in a potential form is, thus, not a fact of experience, but a logical necessity.

Causation has been compared by Śaṁkara to the unfolding of a folded piece of cloth, [4] and Vijñānabhikṣu says that "an effect is said to be produced when if is manifest." [5] According to the satkāryavādī it is a passing of the non-manifested to manifestation; while according to the asatkāryavādī, it is passing from non-existence to existence "a sort of epigenesis" as Prof. Radhakrishnan calls it, or ārambhavāda as it is generally known.

1 Human Understanding, Sec. IV, Part I.
2 Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 3. 1.
3 Śaṁkhya-Pravacana-Bhāṣya, 1.113.
4 Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya, 2. 1. 19.
5 Sāṁkhya-Pravacana-Bhāṣya, 1. 120.

7. *The Problem of Novelty—Unphilosophical Attitude of some Contemporary Philosophers.*

We have seen that the two schools of satkāryavādīs—Sāṁkhya and the Vēdanta—agree in discarding asatkāryavāda in all its forms and admit the potential existence of the effect. We shall now discuss the difference between these two schools in order to bring out the exact position held by Śaṁkara. The difference between them is regarding the process of manifestation, and the status of the manifested quality in the effect. We have noticed before the arguments advanced by the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas to prove the newness of the effect. Though Śaṁkara and Vijñānabhikṣu do not deny the newness in the effect, yet they differ as to the process of this manifestation and the status thereof.

The attitude taken up by some of the contemporary European philosophers coincides with that of the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika. Mr. Morgan distinguishes between two kinds of effects, *viz.*, additive or which is the mere addition of new constituents, and emergent or which is not found in the cause but is found in the effect. The combination of carbon and sulphur gives us a compound called carbon-bisulphide where the weight of the new compound is just the same as that of carbon and sulpher, but there are certain other qualities which are entirely new. In the compound carbon-bisulphide, its weight is additive effect, while the new qualities are emergent. For our purpose, however we need not distinguish between these two kinds of effects ; we may simply say that the compound, as a whole, has certain new traits and we are interested in them. The 'Creative Evolution' of Bergson in the field of life, mind and intelligence, the ' Emergent Evolution ' of Morgan and the " Creative Resultant" of Wündt, inspite of the difference among them, all agree in the newness of the effect. The problem of the newness of effect has been engaging the attention of philosophers,

both of the east and the west, and there is nothing strange in their holidng it as absolutely new. The Buddhists, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas and the Empiricists all agree in the newness of the effect,but all of them have tried to adduce reason for their opinion. What is, however, strange with these contemporary philosophers is that they not only ignore the problem but accept the conclusions of science without criticism. They give instances after instances from scientific works showing that there are elements in the effect which are not found in the cause, and hence conclude that nature in her course takes sudden and unaccountable turns. They do not pause to discuss whether such unaccountable arrival of new qualities is justifiable or not, but bodily incorporate the conclusion of science, bidding us to accept them with what Prof. Alexander calls " natural piety," which, in plain words mean, without scrutiny. They forget that the business of philosophy is not to borrow the conclusions of science, but to examine and interpret them. Philosophers must take note of scientific developments and change their own conclusions, if necessary, but not before the conclusions of science have been thoroughly examined and interpreted.

Be that as it may, we have seen the Buddhists and Nyāya-vaiśeśikas try to explain newness by asatkāryavāda and the Sāṁkhya-vedānta by satkāryavāda. But the explanation of the satkāryavādīs is not complete unless two more points are cleared up. They are about the process of the manifestation of the effect, and the status of this manifested effect.

8. *Saṁkhya Theory of Parisāma.*

We have seen that according to satkāryavāda causation means the manifestation of the unmanifested. A discussion has been raised in this connection : Is this manifestation the result of some change in the material cause? Causation may not be the incoming of anything new, but does this manifestation of the old involve change in the material cause as experience seems to

give us? The Sāṁkhya-yoga thinks that the manifestation of the unmanifested involves change, while the Vedānta thinks that it does not. The favourite example of the former is milk changed into curd, and that of the latter is clay which remains clay even when it assumes a certain form known as ghaṭa. The Sāṁkhya theory has been called vikāravāda and the Vedānta theory is known as vivartavāda. Let us take for example the case of ghaṭa. Clay has assumed a certain form and has suffered a change in assuming this form. Similarly in the case of gold bracelet which also has assumed a certain form and has suffered change in the process. These 'forms,' the Sāṁkhya-yoga thinks, were implicit in clay and gold, and so the pot or bracelet are not new. But in the process of the implicit form to become explicit, the respective material cause has to undergo certain change, for if the material cause is not changed how can the implicit form become explicit? "As it is necessary to press seed to bring out oil or to hew stone to make a statue from a slab, so it is necessary to make some change in the material cause." The effect is implicit in the cause because of some thing which hinders it from being presented to us, and unless this barrier is removed the effect is not visible; and to remove this barrier it is necessary that changes should be made in the material cause, though, however, for the yogīs such change in the material cause is not required. The function of the instrumental cause (karaṇa) is just to destroy this barrier. Physical change is due to change of parts, and the Sāṁkhya takes its stand upon this. Reason demands that the effect should be potential in the cause, and experience shows that a physical object remains what it is unless there is a change of parts, so that without this change of parts the implicit cannot be explicit. The position of Bergson and of the Sāṁkhya-yoga is, thus, the same.[1]

[1] It is interesting to note that Bergson though an asatkāryavādī so far as evolution of life and mind are concerned, is a satkāryavādī in the physical world. We can do no better

The two parts of the Sāṁkhya doctrine of causation—satkāryavāda and pariṇāma or vikāravāda—are, thus, got from two different sources. The former supplies the demand of reason that the effect should remain in the cause and the latter is due to the realistic attitude that unless the cause changes its parts it will never forsake its present form to give place to the future one which it contains within its bosom. The Sāṁkhya admits the reality of the manifested effect and also the reality of change which brings about the manifestation.

9. *The Anomalous Nature of the Effect.*

Saṁkara has attempted to disprove the Sāṁkhya theory by showing the metaphysical difficulty it involves. The reality of change and the reality of the newness in the effect are, in fact, so interconnected that if one is accepted the other must also be accepted and if the one is rejected the other is also rejected automatically. Change means changing of the old form into the new, and the newness in the effect means that this newness is the result of change in the old. So one can disprove any one of the two—the reality of change in the material cause or the reality of the newness in the effect—one automatically

than quote *in extenso* the views of Bergson in his own words: "We say that a composite object changes by the displacement of its parts. But when a part has changed its position, there is nothing to prevent its return to it. A group of elements which has gone through a state. can, therefore, always find its way back to that state if not by itself, at least by means of external cause able to restore everything to its place. This amounts to saying that any state of the group may be repeated as often as desired and consequently the group does not grow old. It has no history, thus, nothing is created therein, neither form nor matter. What the group will be, is already present in what is... A super human intellect could calculate for any moment of time the position of any point of the system in space. And as there is nothing more in the whole than the rearrangement of its parts, the future forms of the system are theoretically visible in its present configuration" (Creative Evolution, p. 9). When Bergson admits that the future forms of the system are theoretically visible in the present configuration he has perhaps no objection to agreeing that the future effects are manifestation of the unmanifest, the unfoldment of the folded. Evolution in nature, according to Bergson, is not creative but a spreading out of the old in a form which appears new to our limited intellect, but even this form is not new to the superhuman intellect. This, however, is accepted by Bergson provisionally from the scientific point of view (*ibid*, p. 11).

disproves the other.[1] Śaṁkara has sought to show the impossibility of the newness. In this Śaṁkara has allied himself with the Mādhyāmika. Gold bracelet, we say, is produced from gold, and in the former there are some qualities which differentiate it from the latter, otherwise gold and bracelet would have been the same. In the case of milk and curd the newness is palpable. This newness may not be absolutely new but only the result of the realising of the potentiality, so far Śaṁkara agrees. But what is the status of this newness? Is it metaphysically justifiable?

Gauḍapāda, in his Māṇḍukya kārikā, has attempted to show the untenability of both the Sāṁkhya and the asatkārayavādi positions with a view to establishing what is known as vivartavāda. Śaṁkara accepted Gauḍapāda's doctrine and has argued against the theory of production whether it be in the Sāṁkhya line of manifestation involving transformation or on asatkāryavādī line of the arrival of the absolutely new. "If the effect is a fact, it is not born (of itself) like a clump of earth (which is existing) and as such is not born of itself" says Śaṁkara against the Sāṁkhya; "And if it is not a fact" he argues against the asatkāryavādi, "it cannot be born at all, like the horse's horn (which can never be a fact)." "If the effect is both a fact and a not-fact it is not born," he continues, "for it is contradictory."[2]

The asatkāryavādī position of the absolutely new effect

[1] Śaṁkara agrees with the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika that the transformation theory does not fit with the metaphysical position of the Sāṁkhya. The Sāṁkhya by its admission that the material cause is changed, runs the risk of admitting that Prakṛti itself as the ultimate material cause of all change is also changed. By some mysterious way Puruṣa disturbs the equilibrium of Prakṛti and creation begins. Prakṛti, as the primeval material cause, according to the Sāṁkhya theory of causation is, thus, liable to change, and if so, it cannot be eternal (nitya) as they hold. To avoid this, the Sāṁkhya has tried to prove the eternality (nityatā) of Prakṛti inspite of the changes it undergoes by calling it the "Changing Eternal" (pariṇamī nitya) by distinguishing it from Puruṣa the changeless eternal (apariṇamī nitya). But a changing eternal is a contradiction. The Sāṁkhya has either to accept Prakṛti as non-eternal, or to accept the Vedānta position that the material cause does not change.

[2] Māṇḍukya Kārikā Bhāṣya.

means that the effect was absolutely absent in the material cause. If so, how can it come to exist? The asatkāryavādī will admit that abhāva like a barren mother's son cannot exist or come to exist in future. The attempt of Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas to explain away the difficulty by holding the different kinds of abhāvas, we have seen, does not help them, for any differentiation among the so-called different abhāvas makes them accept that abhāvas are bhāvas, and they turn satkāryavādī.

The Sāṁkhya should either admit that the effect bodily exists in the cause, or that it is due to the change of the form of the material cause. The Sāṁkhya, of course, does not accept the first alternative. Against the second one, which the Sāṁkhya holds, Gauḍapāda and Śaṁkara argue that it is impossible. The newness of the form in the effect has to be accounted for by the Sāṁkhya, and in doing so the Sāṁkhya has either to say that the particular form was there in the cause, or that it is a new one. There are difficulties in both of them. If the Sāṁkhya says that it is absolutely new then, of course, this particular form being entirely new, the Sāṁkhya becomes asatkāryavādī ; for the form that was not has come to be. By saying that the particular form was existing in the cause they open themselves a new charge. If the form is a fact, there is no necessity why it should be born, as an existing clump of earth need not be born. The Sāṁkhya cannot say that the form existed in the material cause, for the form which is already a fact need not be born ; and it is tantamount to saying that the effect bodily existed in the cause (which the Sāṁkhya does not hold) for a thing is nothing if not a combination of matter and form. Nor can it say, that the form does not exist in the material cause, for that will be saying that the particular effect did not exist in the material cause, for a thing cannot be said to exist without a form.[1]

[1] Candrakīrti, commenting on the Mādhyamika kārika of Nāgārjuna, has argued against causation almost in the same way as Śaṁkara and Gauḍapāda have done. "What-

The status of the effect is, thus, anomalous. It can neither be said to exist in the Sāṁkhya sense nor can it be said to be non-existent in the Buddhist or the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika sense. The Sāṁkhya and the asatkāryavādī are both correct so far as they go, but the anomalous nature has been detected by the Vedantists and the Mādhyamikas, *e.g.*, Candrakīrti and Nāgārjuna. The advent of the new whether from nothing (asatkāryavāda), or as a result of manifestation involving change (pariṇāma-vāda), both being found unsatisfactory, the only way to explain causation is to deny its reality. This is what Śaṁkara has done. Following the Upaniṣadic text "all changes are only in name, clay is only true," he denies the reality of all effect as being metaphysically unjustifiable. We have noted before the anomalous character of the effect—it can neither be said to exist in the material cause in the Sāṁkhya sense, nor can it be said to be non-existent therein in the asatkāryavādi sense; and so it can neither be born from the material cause, nor can it be born of nothing. This is, according to Śaṁkara, sufficient proof of the unreality of the effect. Illusion has been characterised by Śaṁkara as something which can neither be said to exist nor can be denied altogether, and the effect is just a thing of this sort—effects cannot be denied altogether, for we have knowledge of them, nor can we admit its reality because of the anomaly which causation involves. Śaṁkara agrees with Nyāya-vaiśesika and the Sāṁkhya as against the Buddhist in admitting the necessity of material cause ; he agrees with the Sāṁkhya in arguing against asatkāryavāda, whether in the Buddhist or Nyāya-vaiśeṣika form ; and he also joins with the Mādhyamika as against the Sāṁkhya doctrines of real change involving newness in the effect. His theory of causation is, thus, satkāryavāda *minus* the reality of the production of effect involving

ever already exists does not want to be produced, as the jar before us." says he, "nor does a thing rise from a different thing, because it is not there." English translation by Prof. Stcherbatsky.

transformation ; or in other words, causation is an illusion. Though in the practical world (vyavahārika jagat) he is as much a satkāryavādi as the Sāṁkhya, yet, for him, causation has no ultimate justification. This is saying like Kant who accepted it as a category of thought at the same time denying it in the transcendental world.

10. *The Difference between Vedānta and Mādhyamika standpoints—Satkāraṇavāda.*

This is, however, very much different from the Mādhyamika standpoint which denies not only the reality of change, but, along with all Buddhist Schools, the reality of material cause also. But Śaṁkara denies only change of the material cause but not the material cause itself. Though the Mādhyamika and Śaṁkara meet so near, yet this difference between them is actually a difference of great importance. There is neither causation and change nor material cause—this leads to Śūnyavāda ; but the acceptance of material cause and the denial of change of the material cause leads to Brahmavivartavāda—that Brahman, as the material cause, is the only reality and causation, change and effect are all illusory.

Śaṁkara's first analysis of causation that the effect remains potentially in the effect (satkāryavāda) brings out the necessity of a material cause, and so far he agrees with Nyāya and Sāṁkhya. But further examination of causation shows that newness in the effect is unjustifiable and hence causation, transformation, and effects are all false (vivartavāda). But since we cannot deny the effect altogether, we are to say that transformation and effects are real as facts of experience, and false from the metaphysical standpoint. In other words, the material cause is not transformed in producing the effect which is of an anomalous nature. Applying this to the world as a whole we may say that the world as an effect, requires a material cause which is not transformed in ' producing ' it; and the empirical world, as effect,

is also of an anomalous nature,—neither existent nor non-existent—and as such, illusory.

Satkāryavāda, as modified by vivartavāda, thus, turns out to be the relation between a real cause and an unreal effect. Śaṁkara's satkāryavāda, has been appropriately characterised by some as satkāraṇavāda, *i.e.*, the cause alone is real and the effect illusory.

SATINDRAKUMAR MUKHERJEE

Reviews

Coleridge as Philosopher, by Professor J. H. Muirhead, M.A., LL.D. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 12*s*. 6 . net) is a masterly critical work of real worth and great value in which this able interpreter of Coleridge contends that the value of Coleridge's work as a philosopher has not been adequately recognised either by the educated public or the professed student of idealistic philosophy. The prevailing mid-nineteenth century impression is well reflected in the view that "Coleridge teaches no system, not even his own." Even Leslie Stephen held that Coleridge's admirers must "abandon any claim to the construction of a definite system." Yet Coleridge wrote in *The Friend*—"The grand problem, the solution of which forms the final object and distinctive character of philosophy, is this: for all that exists conditionally (that is, the existence of which is inconceivable except under the conditions of its dependency on some other as its antecedent) to find a ground that is unconditional and absolute, and thereby to reduce the aggregate of human knowledge to a system."

Professor Muirhead's is a thorough study of Coleridge's scattered published utterances supplemented by a careful study of his manuscript remains hitherto unavailable with a view to tackle the difficult problem of assigning to Coleridge his rightful place in the thought movement of nineteenth century England by means of a conscientious analysis of all his works, in addition to indicating clearly the part he plays in British Idealism and in the Platonic tradition. In doing this valuable service to philosophy, literature and to Coleridge as well as to the history of English thought (for, this volume belongs to the Library of Philosophy of which Professor Muirhead is the General Editor), the present author acknowledges a forerunner in J. H. Green, who, however, undertook a task he did not live to fulfil, at any rate, "on the large-scale plan he had designed." Up to now Coleridge's biographers and critics were prepared to admit nothing more than that Coleridge was possessed of a coherent body of thought having, at least, the importance of strikingly brilliant or suggestive speculations on a number of metaphysical topics. The "visionary" legend clung too fast to the poet-philosopher and the thinker was sunk in the Anglican theologian. Coleridge's philosophy, we admit, is, no doubt, inseparable from his theology but Professor Muirhead establishes beyond dispute that both had a foundation of systematic metaphysics. For this

service all students of Coleridge must feel grateful to the present writer as an interpreter of Coleridge's true philosophy.

Professor Muirhead has very successfully overcome the difficulty, properly appreciated by him, of connecting into a "clear and consistent form" the scattered and sometimes contradictory ideas, which, again, are always in a state of development, discoverable in all that Coleridge has left behind in published works or manuscript remains. He has practically rescued Coleridge the philosopher from unmerited neglect or partial or prejudiced interpretation.

Coleridge was the first in England to be alive to the problem that philosophy was more "an endeavour to bring together the different interests of the human spirit" than " the development of the view of the world that concentration on the logic of cause and effect seemed to imply." He clearly saw that the prevalent popular philosophy as represented by Locke, Hume, Hartley and supplemented by Spinoza was "wholly unable to give any intelligible account." To him the problem was far more comprehensive—"embracing the whole spiritual life of man, morals and education, law and politics, science and logic." While admitting with great insight the light thrown on the complex problem by German philosophy, specially by Kant, Coleridge did not fail to perceive that finality could no more be claimed by the German philosophical contributions than those of England.

In the eight chapters of his book Professor Muirhead deals elaborately, of course within the limits imposed on him, with philosophical development up to Coleridge's time and in him; the idea of Logic and Coleridge's parting with the Kantian logic and anticipation of the Hegelian metaphysics with special reference to Kant; the meaning of Ideas and how the Idea can involve Reality and Coleridge's theological Platonism; and philosophy of Nature, of Morals, of Politics, of Religion and the theory of Fine Art. The three Appendices are also valuable and helpful.

The result is a lucid and adequate history of "the influences under which Coleridge's philosophical convictions were matured, the principles of method he was led to adopt, the view to which these led as to the ultimate reality of which the world of nature and human life is the temporal expression, and the applications he made of it in the various departments of theory and practice."* * * "Fundamental points are indicated in which he manifestly failed." It is also indicated as to how and how far his body of doctrine exercised an influence on the succeeding generation of English thinkers. It is admitted that his influence on Anglican theology was greater than on the technical philosophy of the next generation.

We are made to see in this admirable book that Coleridge recognised that philosophical or religious truth could not be attained without reaching beyond the concrete and the visible, furnished by sensory forces, by means of a truly metaphysical discipline as suggested very early in the history of European idealistic thought by Plato. We are convinced by Professor Muirhead's cogent reasons that Traill was not quite correct in holding that in Coleridge there is an absence of any moral theory of life. We are made to realise Coleridge's remarkable insistence on God as Will and on the idea of Personality and feel that his place is supremely important and somewhat unique in the new department of psychology of religion.

Finally, there is an attempt to precisely state "the place which is likely to be assigned to Coleridge in the history of Anglo-Saxon philosophy, and the feature in his teaching that is the main ground of his title to it."

J. G. B.

Philosophy without Metaphysics by Edmond Holmes (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (1930) is an attempt to free philosophy from bondage to Metaphysics which, according to the writer, has in the past done immense harm by arresting the progress of Physical Science, Medicine, Theology and indirectly Psychology and Ethics. The fundamental assumption of Metaphysics which for centuries dominated all knowledge is considered here to be a fundamental fallacy. What he specially deprecates in metaphysics is its assumption that intellect, alone and unaided, is competent to unravel mysteries.

The scheme of his book is briefly described in the introduction as an examination of (1) a typical metaphysical system of the logical type as represented by Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* (Ch. I of the book under review), (2) a typical metaphysical system of the Empirical type as represented by Professor Alexander's *Space, Time and Deity* (Ch. II), (3) two metaphysical systems belonging to the people rather than the schools, *viz.*, Supernaturalism and Materialism, from which the author passes on to what he calls the philosophy, of intellectual despair, namely, Agnosticism (Ch. III), which critical examination of systems now prevalent is finally followed (in Ch. IV) by his advocacy of Intuition (which is " an alliance of thought and feeling ") and an examination of Intuitional Philosophy on its speculative and practical side. The " Conclusion " develops the intuitional philosopher's creed.

The treatment throughout this comparatively short study (in 175 pages) of a great subject is lucid and popular which occasionally becomes,

however, irritatingly superficial. Our impression is that here Bradley is too cheaply disposed of. The writer fails to go deep into Bradley's philosophy which surely deserves a more careful and thorough preparation than is brought to bear on this alleged examination and should be approached with greater seriousness of purpose. Mr. Holmes is more convincing in his criticism of Professor Alexander's position and his conclusion is that "empirical metaphysics is a hybrid product of speculative thought. It is neither Science nor—I was going to say Metaphysics, but perhaps I had better say—Philosophy." "Take away," he adds, "from Philosophy its "wings" and its "songs." The resulting residuum may perhaps pass as Metaphysics. Whether there is any *locus standi* as it is for the empirical metaphysician is a matter which his fellow-metaphysicians must decide." This gives us a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Holmes scores a point against his opponents and there is something chevalier-like in it. All through, by metaphysics is meant "the intellectual attempt to understand the universe." Philosophy being "love of wisdom," the metaphysician's attempt, in this view, made from whatever standpoint—logical, empirical or materialistic—to bring ultimate Reality within its scope starts with an initial misconception which is hard to rectify. Mr. Holme's main contention is that the intellect is competent to interpret "the data of sense-experience by analytical methods" and the appeal, again, for verification of the results must be to the testimony of these very senses, whereas the philosophic quest of wisdom requires "the co-operation of all the higher powers of man." For, an *intellectual* system, according to Mr. Holmes, there is no escape from dualism and dualism is rampant in two spheres of human activity—our everyday life and our speculative philosophy and materialism and supernaturalism are "two chief types of dualism in its extreme form," the supernatural, as differentiated as an exclusive alternative to the material, leading to a form of dualism easily derived from the dualism of matter and spirit. The result of this disruption of the universe is, he holds, the replacing of the two entities of the phenomenal and the real by "three kinds of reality the created reality of the material world, the created reality of the soul of man, and the creative reality of the Supernatural world which is self-existent and therefore of a higher order." "From Philosophy to Theology, from Theology to Ethics, from Ethics to Conduct, the current of dualistic thought runs its course without let or hindrance. * * * The choice between the Supernatural and Nature becomes a choice between God and the Devil, between good and evil, between salvation and perdition, between Heaven and Hell." * * * "And with infinitude goes reality.

For the ideal is the real, and infinitude is of the very essence of the quest of the ideal. * * * Dualism deprives each of two correlated opposites of the very element of reality which it owes to the other."

"The loss," he argues, "of infinitude which is characteristic of metaphysical dualism" reproduces itself in practical life "as loss of idealism, as loss of spirituality, as the materialization of motives, as the mechanization of life."

"A reaction," he proceeds, "against Supernaturalism gives us Materialism" of which the essence is "the assumption that through the scientific analysis of dense matter lies the road to ultimate reality and "a reaction against materialism has led many metaphysically minded thinkers to take refuge in agnosticism" which "means nothing less than the final failure of the whole metaphysical adventure."

Next follows Mr. Holme's constructive criticism or enquiry and the supreme place of importance belongs here to feeling. "In the philosophy of the Upanishads, in which, as it seems to me, idealism touches its high-water mark, there is more of poetry than of Metaphysics." Speculation, reasoning, arguing, trying to intellectually comprehend life will not help us "*to live life*" "*to live our way into the heart of Reality.*" "If we are to know Reality we must be content to know it from within."

"It follows that, if we are to think about great matters, our thought must be in large measure intuitional and emotional."

We propose to conclude with one more quotation:—

"Our choice does not lie between mere feeling and pure thought. The great literatures of the world, which contain its best philosophy, and which no thinker, not even the most fanatical of metaphysicians, can afford to ignore, are the product, not of pure thought nor of mere feeling, but of thought co-operative with feeling; of thought transfigured and stabilized by feeling, and of feeling concentrated and disciplined by thought."

J. G. B.

Beyond Physics or the Idealisation of Mechanism (being a Survey and attempted extension of Modern Physics in a Philosophical and Psychical direction)—by Sir Oliver Lodge, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 5*s*.) is one more thought-provoking and challenging

book of 155 pages of well-reasoned and lucid argument of which the descriptive title sufficiently explains its scope and aim.

Orthodox physics, however advanced and up-to-date, proposes more or less to confine itself and its activities in a vast, yet, in a way. *closed* cycle of phenomena amenable to metrical comprehension and demonstration. It recognises, no doubt, at the same time, though refusing to tackle directly, man's aesthetic and spiritual intuitions as equally real and valid, nay important, as convictions of which the functions form a fundamental and essential part of human nature. Such a recognition tends to liberate physics from the severe grip of the strict and rigid law of causality beyond which this science, like the philosophy of Locke and Hume, hitherto refused to travel. This liberation is pregnant with marvellous possibilities specially bringing about a closer intimacy between science and philosophy. In this respect books like Sir Oliver Lodge's *Life and Matter, Ether and Reality, Modern Scientific Ideas,* Eddington's *Science and the Unseen World,* Dewy's *Quest for Certainty,* Urban's *The Intelligible World,* Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World,* Dr. J. S. Scott Haldane's *The Seiences and Philosophy* and *The Mysterious Universe* of Sir James Jeanes are highly suggestive landmarks in the history and trend of modern thought and scientific speculation. This thought-movement makes science more philosophical as an interpretation of the universe and philosophy less speculative and abstract. A *rapprochement* becomes easy between two fundamental types of facts—between facts *purely factual* and facts important by reason of their *value.* There is thus a movement of modern thought behind or beyond strictly orthodox scientific theories into a region with which philosophy was mainly concerned.

Recent scientific speculations, based on relativity, of Bohr, Born, Heisenberg, Schrödinger, Whitehead and Eddington (with all of which Sir Oliver is not always in agreement) encourage the author of these book to hope that the day may come when scientists will see, from what they have already realised about the incompleteness and inadequacy of pure physics, that beyond its vast, but limited region, lies that of psychics, not altogether dissociated from it. They will admit that where physics *ends* psychics begins. His plea is definitely set forth thus:—" There are other avenues to truth than the metrical methods of physics," though mathematical physics may consider them to be non-scientific. " I want," says Sir Oliver, " to go further and claim that these other avenues. or some of them, are open to scientific exploration." * * * " We belong both to the physical and to the non-physical world, here and now; we cannot afford to separate them and keep them in water-tight compartments."

Chapter IV (of this book of only 7 chapters) contains a fairly elaborat and critical survey of modern physics leading into a realm beyond th physics proper of mathematical physicists who at the present time mak use of abstract symbols in a highly speculative manner to represent thing yet definitely unknown replacing the physical imagery of the 19th centur physicists. The result, according to Sir Oliver Lodge, is necessarily tendency towards an idealistic interpretation of the universe. His ma contention consequently is that " different thinkers from different point of view are converging on some kind of guidance, some kind of menta activity, some kind of organising power, some rational and pre-determin ing influence, not only in the works of man, where it is conspicuous, bu in the works of nature too." Some of his main objections to prevalen methods may be referred to here—*viz.*, that " Relativists seem inclined t overemphasise the laboratory method of observation in a curiously im practical and imaginative fashion," that, because at present here is n means of measuring it, velocity through the ether must be considered to b meaningless, that though Relativists rightly lay stress on certain absolute already detected by them, they should not shut their minds against othe possible absolutes such, for instance, as absolute locomotion through th ether.

The book before us is full of highly interesting suggestions regardin incorporation into physics of the element brought in by life and mind fo which physicists hitherto could not detect any permanent physical basi but for which he is prepared to hazard the **hypothetical** suggestion of th *constituent* waves of excessively high frequency (as opposed to grou waves) as the basis. He envisages a day when even psychologists ma find, as physical optics does in the case of ether waves with velocity c o mechanics in that of group waves with velocity u, use for waves wit velocity v in utilising these at present dimly inferred and barely appre hended high-frequency periodicities as the instrument of the long-sough for physical basis of life and mind.

Let us finish with a reference to some of his conclusions.

" I feel compelled to assume," he adds, " that the latent possibilitie of animation are already existent in space." " It appears that physic is now helping us to trace the gradual possibilities of interaction betwee space and matter."

J. G. B.

1931] **...ion in Bombay**, by H. L. Kaji, with a foreword by H. W. ...shed by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co, Bombay, pp. 311. 10.

Kaji is reputed to be an enthusiastic co-operator and an intelligent ...aking active interest in spreading the general culture of co-opera- Some of his co-adjutors, *viz.*, Mr. V. L. Mehta, Rao Bahadur S. S. ...almaki, Mr. P. G. Kanekar and Mr. C. M. Gandhi are no less distinguished than Prof. Kaji himself and together they have succeeded in tracing the origin, development and the difficulties besetting the real progress of the co-operative movement in the province of Bombay.

As in the other parts of this vast continent the co-operastive principle has been applied with the specific purpose of the democratisation of credit. Realising quickly that "co-operation is the best gift that India has received" this principle has been extended to the other walks of life, namely, housing work, sanitary work, agricultural co-operation, co-operative labour societies and consumer's co-operation. The different essays deal with the celerity and popularity with which the movement has been extended by its enthusiastic supporters and commercial magnates of the stamp of the late Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas. All these essays have been written in a vivid manner bristling with actual facts and all those interested in utilising the self-same agent of improvement, *viz.*, co-operation, would do well to make an intelligent study of this book, for the experience gained in this province would afford an invaluable guide. However differing the local conditions might be in the other provinces no one would gainsay the truth of the proposition that this democratic movement requires progressive de-officialisation.

It would indeed be impossible to convey the wealth of actual details and useful information which this book possesses. Prof. Kaji has written a lengthy and able introduction expounding lucidly the aims and ideals of the co-operative movement, the different types of co-operative societies and the relationship between the state and the co-operative movement. Another interesting chapter contributed by him is that on consumers' co-operation. He has rightly levied proper emphasis on the greater need of utilising the co-operative principle in uplifting the economic conditions of the Indian labourers. Commenting on the weakness of co-operative banking he wisely insists on the absolute necessity of securing efficient business management of the primary co-operative societies. The employment of trained staff by the urban banks and the undertaking of general banking business is advocated by him as well as Mr. V. C. Jadav who writes an illuminating description of the people's co-operative

banks of the Bombay Province (See Ch. VII). Like the d... and veteran economist Sir J. C. Coyajee he pleads for a wide ... of the urban co-operative banks. The most successful of these ou... open branches in smaller areas and with the adoption of the principle centralisation in finance, *viz.*, the organisation of the Union of Peop Banks for the whole Presidency, the movement would develop on so lines.

Mr. D. A. Shah, the able and enthusiastic Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, discusses the principles underlying the r co-operative credit. After giving an impartial account of the growth the co-operative credit movement he estimates the economic bene which the movement has conferred on the people and corroborates widespread opinion that it is high time that internal check and supervis ought to displace the present-day outside check and supervision.

One of the most well-informing papers is the financial structure the co-operative movement by Mr. V. L. Mehta, the Managing Direc of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank. He draws attention to necessity of maintaining high fluid resources by the Central Banks. much as 60% against current accounts and 50% against savings b accounts are considered as the adequate provision. Branch banki financial inspection in addition to supervision and control in the absence unions of primary societies, the undertaking of inland exchange business, financing of urban trade and the helping of the purchase and sale societ are recommended as the proper duties of the Central Banks and emphatically remarks that "without a bold and vigorous policy a st of stagnation may set in and stagnation, if not encountered in time forces making for growth and progress, may bring in its train deteriorat and ultimate decay."

The special and distinctive features of the Bombay Provincial operative Bank form the subject-matter of the next essay. The pol of branch banking by the apex Provincial Co-operative Bank is uph on the ground of historical reasons. Its improvement of the remittan facilities and its help in the agricultural marketing business are vivi described. The cheapening of credit arising out of centralisation finance has also been pointed out and the author advocates the format of one such Provincial Co-operative Bank as the apex bank for the co-op ative credit societies in each and every province. The prompt recov of loans is another advantage flowing out of centralisation of the financi structure of the co-operative credit movement.

The necessity for the agricultural marketing organisation to be based

a co-operative basis is ably expounded in Chapter IV. The present middlemen would attempt to snub and strangle the Agricultural Co-operative sale societies but it is the co-operative system that will enable the agriculturists to fight their battle with a good chance of success. The difficulties attending the finance, working and management of the co-operative sale societies form the subject-matter of this interesting essay. He recommends the formation of an Agricultural Wholesale Society for Bombay somewhat on the lines of the Jute organisation for Bengal which is working on somewhat successful lines though there is plenty of scope for further improvement.

Chapter V is strictly speaking a continuation of the same discussion and the success of the co-operative cotton sale societies forms the topic. The Guzerat societies are working more successfully than the Karnatic type and both these would achieve greater measure of success if the Bombay merchants were to support them wholeheartedly.

In Chapter VI we find Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki contributing an able discussion on the subject of the suitable type of subsidiary industries which would supplement the agricultural income all round the year. Besides the dairying industry he advocates the conjoint working of beefarming, fruit-farming and vegetable-growing. Subsidiary industries should help the agriculturist and supply him with all his primary needs. So he rightly advocates subsidiary industries in the matter of food and clothing. A critical summary of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture is tacked on and forms a happy ending of this useful chapter.

The wisdom of launching forth the consumers' co-operative movement is ably discussed by Prof. H. L. Kaji. Co-operative distribution has been sadly neglected and the little success attending the formation of stores, has been commented on by the writer. More intensive propaganda and the starting of a separate salaried staff to run this branch of the much-neglected aspect of co-operation is the recommendation made by this writer.

The indefatigable Mr. Kanekar points out the direct and indirect benefits which labour would enjoy out of the co-operative movement. Credit co-operation, consumers' co-operation, and co-operative production are the three recognised aspects of the co-operative movement and these ought to be enrolled for the service of the Indian labourers. He aims at rousing the co-operative conscience of the masses and when once this is aroused he would make it purely a peoples' movement depending less and less on official encouragement.

An able summary of the existing co-operative law is to be found in Chapter X. The salient features of the 1925 Act are commented on and as co-operative law forms the foundation of the co-operative edifice everyone interested in the success of the movement would have to digest these rules.

Chapter XI gives an outline of the historical evolution of the Provincial Co-operative Institute of Bombay. After describing the work of the Institute—the position of the Institute in the co-operative movement of the Province is discussed. He would like the non-statutary work in connection with the co-operative movement to be studied and undertaken by the Institute. Education, supervision, propaganda, and the voicing of popular opinion on co-operative questions form the proper field of the work of the Institute. The eschewing of politics from the Institute is also clearly enunciated by him. The Institute which is constituted as the third main arm of the co-operative movement should co-operate with the Registrar and the financing Banks which are the other two arms and make the movement a successful one. He would proceed further and constitute a fourth arm, namely co-operative trade, which ought to form a fourth wheel accelerating the progress of the co-operative chariot.

There is no gainsaying the truth that if the co-operative conscience of the masses is once roused and the co-operative machinery is worked in true co-operative spirit by specially trained and experienced men there would be no set-back and the co-operative movement would achieve immeasurable progress in the direction of making the masses realise the ideals of better living, better business and better farming.

The charts, graphs and statistical tables constitute a striking appeal to the eye and every worker devoted to the co-operative movement ought to read this book.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Ourselves

Asutosh Anniversary.

The seventh death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appropriately observed on the 25th May last at the Darbhanga Building by the friends, relations and admirers of the noble departed son of Bengal and the glory of the Bengali race. The marble bust of Sir Asutosh was profusely yet decently decorated with roses, lilies and fresh greens and incense was burnt. The memorial service was very feelingly and reverentially conducted by Sir Nilratan Sircar with an emotional fervour which deeply touched every heart and in which he briefly recounted the memorable services rendered to the University, to education in general in all its phases, and to the intellectual, social and political uplift of India by the great man whose loss the country still feels strongly. This was preceded by a holy Vedic chant which lent an additional solemnity to the proceedings brought to a close with a fervent prayer for the peace of the departed soul from which inspiration shall ever flow into the heart and soul of all selfless workers for the country's cause. Songs composed for the occasion were sung followed by *Kirtan* which was highly appreciated by the assembled guests.

The solemnity of this year's celebration was deepened by a genuine touch of perfect sincerity which powerfully appealed to our hearts as something rather unique in such annual functions.

One reflection was uppermost in our minds—Is Sir Asutosh's splendid ideal of a great University in Bengal as an exemplar to other Indian Universities, more or less, nearer fulfilment to-day as rolling years were transforming his remarkable guiding personality into a cherished sacred memory?

A New Ph. D.

Mr. Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyay, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the following theses :—

Main Thesis :

"Hindu Polity and Political Theories"

Subsidiary theses.

(*a*) Kautilya or an exposition of his Social Ideal and Political Theory.

(*b*) Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India.

(*c*) Katyayana-Mata-Sangraha or a collection of the Legal Fragments of Katyayana.

* * * *

Mouat Medal.

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his research work during the third years' term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1925.

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Result of the B. T. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, held in April, 1931, was 90 of whom 71 passed. Of the successful candidates 12 passed in the First Division.

* * * *

Result of the L. T. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination held in April, 1931, was 8 of whom 7 passed and 1 failed. Of the successful candidates 5 passed with Distinction.